RACE RELATIONS AND ADOLESCENTS: COPING WITH NEW REALITIES

HEARING

BEFORE THE

SELECT COMMITTEE ON CHILDREN, YOUTH, AND FAMILIES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

ONE HUNDREDTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

HEARING HELD IN WASHINGTON, DC, MARCH 27, 1987

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CONTENTS

Page

Hearing held in Washington, DC, March 27, 1987 ... 1

Statement of:

- Comas-Diaz, Lillian, co-director, Transcultural Mental Health Institute, Washington, DC ... 75
- Comer, James, M.D., Maurice Falk Professor of Child Psychiatry, Child Study Center, Yale University, New Haven, CT ... 37
- De Maria, Renato, principal, New Dorp High School, Staten Island, NY ... 82
- Flake, Hon. Floyd H., a Member of Congress from the State of New York ... 26
- Hurst, Frederick, commissioner, Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination, Springfield, MA ... 56
- Kelley, Bruce, program director, California Tomorrow, San Francisco, CA ... 18
- Orfield, Gary, professor of political science, public policy and education; director, National School Desegregation Research Project, University of Chicago, Chicago, IL ... 3
- Spencer, Margaret Beale, associate professor of developmental and educational psychology in the division of educational studies, Emory University ... 64

Prepared statements, letters, supplemental materials, et cetera:

- Comas-Diaz, Lillian, Ph.D., co-director, Transcultural Mental Health Institute, Washington, DC, prepared statement of ... 78
- Comer, James P., M.D., Maurice Falk Professor of Child Pyschiatry, Yale Child Study Center, Associate Dean, Yale School of Medicine, New Haven, CT, prepared statement of ... 41
- De Maria, Renato L., principal, New Dorp High School, Staten Island, NY, prepared statement of ... 87
- Flake, Floyd, a Representative in Congress from the State of New York, prepared statement of ... 30
- Hurst, Hon. Frederick, commissioner, Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination, Springfield, MA, prepared statement of ... 59
- Kelley, Bruce, program director, California Tomorrow, San Francisco, CA, prepared statement of ... 22
- Miller, Hon. George, a Representative in Congress from the State of California and chairman, Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families, opening statement of ... 2
- Orfield, Gary, professor of political science, public policy and education; director, National School Desegregation Research Project, Unversity of Chicago, Chicago, IL, prepared statement of ... 10
- Spencer, Margaret Beale, Ph.D., Emory University, Atlanta, GA, prepared distatement of ... 69

RACE RELATIONS AND ADOLESCENTS: COPING WITH NEW REALITIES

FRIDAY, MARCH 27, 1987

House of Representatives,
Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families,
Washington, DC.

The select committee met, pursuant to notice, at the Washington Hilton Hotel, Georgetown East/West Rooms, Washington, DC, Hon. George Miller (chairman of the select committee) presiding.

Members present: Representatives Miller, McHugh, and Skaggs.

Staff present: Ann Rosewater, staff director; Anthony Jackson, professional staff; Darcy Coulson Reed, minority research assistant; Spencer Kelly, minority research assistant.

Chairman **Miller**. The Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families will come to order. The hearing this morning is an oversight hearing on race relations and adolescents and coping with the new realities.

I'm pleased to hold this hearing on race relations and their mental health implications for adolescents in conjunction with the 64th annual meeting of the American Orthopsychiatric Association.

A decade ago we thought that racism, if not cured, certainly was in remission. Regrettably, the facts of recent history force us to reexamine that assumption.

Race-related violence in communities like Howard Beach, New York, and Forsyth County, Georgia have recently reawakened our consciousness and our fears. Gang violence primarily involving Asian, Hispanic and black youth continues in low-income southern California communities. Other racially motivated incidents have occurred on major college campuses including The Citadel, Wellesley, the University of Massachusetts, and most recently the University of Michigan.

These events are too numerous and too dangerous to dismiss as unrelated or as media hype. The sad history of race relations in America compels us to treat any manifestations of racial prejudice as a serious threat to our society.

Apart from their tragic personal significance, incidents of racial antipathy are important for what they tell us about larger economic and demographic trends in our society and for what they signal about the environments in which our children are growing up to adulthood.

Blacks and other minorities have historically found themselves at the bottom of the economic order. In a rising economic tide that lifts all boats, the minority family's struggle for upward mobility poses no threat to similarly struggling white families. But in today's uncertain economic climate where unemployment rates are fixed at levels that were considered unacceptable seven years ago, competition between racial groups for dwindling economic resources has served to promote racial tensions. The biases which are developed during childhood will not necessarily change as the economy improves.

We must also examine the rapid demographic changes this nation has recently experienced, including the influx of new immigrant groups. Nowhere are those trends more evident than in my home state of California.

As we will learn today, 30 percent of all children in California public schools are foreign born. The task of mutual accommodation between these new groups and previously established racial and ethnic communities is one of the most important challenges we face for the future.

However, the existence of cultural or class conflict does little to explain race-related incidents at some of our most prestigious public and private colleges. What are the values, the prejudices, the images, and the stereotypes that adolescents bring with them to those colleges? And what are families and institutions teaching youth, or failing to teach, about past injustices and the need for current remedies?

Ultimately, our concern in raising these issues is for the well being of America's youth, both minority and majority. Race relations in this nation directly affect young people's sense of identity and self esteem; their sense of being included in the society at large or of being isolated; and their sense of mastery and competence or helplessness.

Today we will hear from experts who have studied recent race-related incidents, as well as the social and psychological consequences of racism and their implications for today's youth. We will also learn about successful strategies for helping youth cope with the new and old realities of ethnic and racial diversity.

I want to welcome all of the witnesses to the committee this morning. We're supposed to start out, I believe, with Congressman Floyd Flake from New York, but I believe he's been detained and we will go ahead and start with our first panel. And then when Congressman Flake comes in we will make room for his testimony.

[Opening statement of Hon. George Miller follows:]

Opening Statement of Hon. George Miller, a Representative in Congress From the State of California, and Chairman, Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families

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I am pleased to hold this hearing on race relations and their mental health implications for adolescents in conjunction with the 64th annual meeting of the American Orthopsychiatric Association.

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I welcome all of our witnesses here today and appreciate your contribution to this very important discussion.

With that I'd like to call Dr. Gray Orfield who is a professor of political science, public policy and education at the University of Chicago, and the director of the National School Desegregation Research Project; Bruce Kelley, who is the program director for California Tomorrow from San Francisco, California; and Dr. James Comer who is the Maurice Falk professor of child psychiatry at the Child Study Center at Yale University.

Welcome to the committee. Your written statements will be put in the record of this hearing in their entirety and you can proceed in the manner in which you're most comfortable.

Dr. Orfield, we'll start with you.

STATEMENT OF GARY ORFIELD, PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, PUBLIC POLICY AND EDUCATION; DIRECTOR, NATIONAL SCHOOL DESEGREGATION RESEARCH PROJECT, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO, CHICAGO, IL

Dr. ORFIELD. Thank you very much, Congressman Miller.

It's a privilege to be here with you today and have an opportunity to talk to you about some very important developments in urban America.

In the 1960's when he was leading a campaign in Chicago, which was the largest civil rights campaign outside of the south, Martin Luther King was stunned by resistance to housing desegregation and to school desegregation in the community with the nation's second largest black population.

He saw in that community a tremendously powerful, self-reinforcing cycle of inequality that included schools, job access, lack of access to housing, lack of access to the whole dynamic of development in the suburbs. And he led a march that produced great violence and bitterness and that helped lead to the enactment of the Fair Housing Act of 1968.

Since that time there's been essentially no progress in either housing desegregation or school desegregation in Chicago. Illinois is the most segregated state in the United States in terms of segregation of black children. The residential separation is so intense that the typical black family lives on a block that's 96 percent minority today.

The policies that have been developed to address the urban color line don't work very well, and they really haven't been applied very seriously outside the south.

I want to talk to you today about several things. One thing is the warning that was given to the country by Dr. King and others in the 1960s about what would happen if we didn't address the racial dimensions of the issues of northern urbanization. The next one is, what happened? why didn't we? The third one is where are we today, what have we learned from the efforts that we've made on these issues; particularly those that we've made in the south where they're much more serious? What have we learned about what it is possible to do and what we have to pay attention to.

What are the consequences, particularly of segregated education? How does it relate to, and is it part of, a vicious cycle of inequality that is self-perpetuating, a cycle that is now drawing in many Hispanic youth as well as black youth in our central-city school systems?

And what really ought we to pay attention to if we're going to address these issues seriously?

I was delighted to have a chance to come here because Congress has been almost completely neglecting these issues since the late 1960s, when it received some powerful warnings from the Kerner Commission, for example, that we were well on our way to becoming separate and unequal societies.

I think there's a lot of evidence today that we have become separate and unequal societies in a pretty profound way, and that they are self-perpetuating. And the consequences are deepening. And I think that there's also some evidence, which is the reason I think it's worth talking about, that we can do something about it.

The prescription that was given to us by Dr. King, the Kerner Commission, and many other observers in the late 1960s was that we had to do two things: we had to make a major national effort to transfer resources and skills and commitment into the upgrading of minority institutions within the large city ghettos and the barrios; and the other one was that we really had to have a serious attack on the urban color line. That color line, that issue of racial separation based on residency and interacting through the schools and colleges and job situations, created basic structural problems in the society that had to be addressed. They had become the equivalent in many ways of the traditional Jim Crow laws in the south, and had some of the same consequences.

I think what happened to us as a society is that we decided to ignore completely the racial dimensions of the issue by the early 1970s. The efforts to open up the suburbs, for example, that George Romney and some others made in the early seventies, were rejected by President Nixon. That issue has never arisen again seriously in politics.

We built many millions of new suburban housing units, almost all of the new suburban developments have been almost entirely white when they've opened. We've moved millions of jobs from central cities to outer suburbs. We've done almost nothing to deal with the access issue for minority youth, and we're seeing the consequences in the tremendously high and intense unemployment rates and the impossibility of getting from where the youth live to where the jobs are being created.

At the same time we've moved lots of other things. We've moved the locus of quality education way out from the city in many of our metropolitan areas. We're moving colleges out, we're moving all kinds of institutions out across that color line, very far away from central city.

We did follow the prescription of trying to increase compensatory programs at least for a while. We had the war on poverty which is basically designed to deal with increasing community organization, which was very seriously weakened during the Nixon administration, then abandoned during the Reagan administration.

We had the Title 1 of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, which is the major Federal effort toward central-city education and which has had positive effects. The Congressional Budget Office has shown us in a recent report that it's had very significant positive effects. Minority youth in the earliest grades have made the largest increases of any group in the population in terms of educational achievement. But that's really tapering off in the 1980s.

The maximum gains were for the students who came into first grade in about 1967 or 1968. And you can see a powerful policy relationship. We never extended that effort into the high school grades. The Carter administration was moving towards that in 1980. Those issues were lost when the Reagan administration was elected.

We have had some other efforts. We had Model Cities, which was killed off during the Reagan administration. We've had a variety of other programs such as minority economic development that were designed to try to deal with some of those dimensions. Most of them have had some success, but it's been much too limited to deal with the tremendous economic transfers that have been taking place during this period.

In the 1970s, during the Nixon period, these programs grew slowly. During the Reagan period many of them have been devastated. We have had almost no civil-rights enforcement activity outside the Federal courts. By 1974, when the Supreme Court rejected the merger of the city and suburban schools in Detroit, we had it pretty much stopped in the progress of school desegregation.

We had the courts turn away from what was the central issue of northern school desegregation; namely the city-suburban division. The great majority of our large urban school districts in the north have a large majority of blacks and Hispanics. There's no way to desegregate them effectively within the city boundaries.

The decision not to cross the city boundaries was a decision to accept perpetuation of segregation. The consequences of that are pretty clear. I just want to go over a couple of these tables that I handed to the committee.

There was tremendous progress in the United States in desegregation of black students between 1968 and 1972—actually, between 1964 and 1972. The south became the most integrated region in the country by 1970 and it's remained that way. The busing orders in the south made a significant difference in terms of the isolation of minority students.

They were not unstable. The south did not lose white enrollment. In fact, it's the only area that did not lose white enrollment during this period. It's actually been gaining white enrollment.

By 1972 we had basically established the pattern that's lasted until this date. We've had a substantial desegregation of parts of the south, almost no progress at all in the northeast and in the middle west, in terms of racial segregation. And a great many students in those areas are studying in intensely segregated schools.

At the same time that major progress was made in the desegregation of blacks, no progress was made in the desegregation of Hispanics. In fact, all through the period of data that we have available, Hispanic students are becoming steadily more segregated. By two of the three measures that we've done with the 1984 national enrollment statistics, they are now more segregated than black students in American schools. There's been no policy effort directed towards them. They were not on the agenda in the 1960s in any serious way. Huge changes are taking place in states like California, for example, where there are many more Hispanics than black students.

In 1984, 33 percent of the black students in the country and 31 percent of the Hispanic students were in intensely segregated schools, which are schools which have many of the characteristics which we describe with the urban underclass.

In the 1980s there has been a very concerted attack by the Justice Department and the Reagan administration on school desegregation. They've been going into court all over the country trying to resegregate the—to wipe out busing plans and to resegregate schools. So far that hasn't had very much effect, although a few school districts like Norfolk and Oklahoma City have resegregated their elementary schools. But it's a serious challenge.

One of the reasons the issue of racial isolation and the issue of quality of minority education is so important is because the population structure of American education and of the next generation of Americans is changing very rapidly.

Between 1968 and 1984 in the American public schools, the number of whites in those schools declined by 19 percent. That's a reflection of the basic demography of that generation of whites, for an enormous majority of students remain in the public school system. The number of blacks increased by two percent, and the number of Hispanics increased by 80 percent. The number of Asians increased by 400 percent from a very low base.

Our school systems are becoming much more racially diverse. And if the trends that we saw during the 16 year period that we looked at continues, there'll be a little more than half white students in American public schools around the turn of the century. This is already apparent in several states. California is a classic example.

It's apparent in a number of metropolitan areas. The public schools of metropolitan Chicago, including all of the suburbs, are now about 46 percent non-white. And they're changing about one percent every year.

In other words, the next generation of young students, of young people, is going to be smaller, it's going to be much more minority, and the consequences of the segregated and very unequal education are going to manifest themselves in the labor markets and in all of our institutions.

What we're finding in our research in a number of metro areas around the country is that the segregated high schools are very directly related to drop outs. There's an extremely high correlation between segregation and drop outs. There's an extremely high correlation between segregation and poverty. It's on the order of 0.8 to 0.9 in different metro areas. There's an extremely high relationship between segregation and poverty and achievement scores. It's a similar kind of correlation, 0.8, 0.9.

There is a very strong relationship between all of those factors and the curriculum in the high schools. In other words, the basic pre-collegiate curriculum isn't being offered in the minority high schools partly because there aren't enough kids who are demanding it, and partly because it's just assumed that they won't demand it.

There's a very strong relationship between attendance in those high schools and enrollment in segregated minority community colleges in our largest metro areas that don't lead to anything, where there's a tremendous attrition rate and very low transfer rate.

We're seeing, in the areas that we're looking at now, a very substantial decline in access to college of any sort, even for those students who survive these high schools.

So we're seeing what really does look like a self-perpetuating cycle of inequality that's based on residential and educational segregation.

We believe that something can be done about it, and one of the reasons that we think that that's true is because there are tremendously different patterns in different parts of the United States. In other words, there are places where there is almost no segregation and there are places where there is almost total segregation.

In the table I've provided to the committee we compare the most segregated and the most integrated metropolitan areas in the southern and border states. In Tampa-St. Petersburg, for example, the typical black student in school metrowide is in a school that's 66 percent white. In Wilmington, Delaware where there was a metropolitan desegregation order that merged the city and the suburbs the typical black students are in a school that's 66 percent white.

In Louisville where there was that kind of an order also, the typical black students are in a 65 percent white school. In almost all cases this means a substantial majority of middle-class people. There are almost no low-income white schools that we discover in the metro areas that we looked at. The vast majority of whites have access to middle-class schools.

Black students who are middle class are more likely to be in schools with many lower-class, very poor children than white children who are poor.

In the most segregated metropolitan areas in the southern border States, New Orleans, Atlanta, Miami, Baltimore, the typical black students are in a school that's only about one-sixth white, and a great many of those students are in an entirely segregated school.

In metropolitan Chicago and Detroit the level of integration is only about half as much as it is in the most segregated parts in the south. In other words, there's close to total segregation. There are hundreds of schools in which there is nobody who is from another racial group. In many of the schools there's almost nobody who isn't poor.

But we see a tremendous variation. In other words, there are whole metropolitan regions that have now had desegregation plans and orders for a generation which have proved to be stable and which have put all the children in very well integrated schools, and it's no mystery what they did there.

What we think is necessary for Congress to begin to think about in these areas, is to begin to think again about the fact that there is a racial barrier; that it is related to inequality; that it is self-perpetuating; that it's not going to go away spontaneously; and that we really do need to address it again.

What I'd suggest, is that several things ought to be done. One of them ought to be a serious re-creation of the desegregation assistance program that was destroyed and abandoned in the 1981 Omnibus Reconciliation Act.

There's a very small program, a magnet-school program, that's back now but that's totally inadequate. The program that was abolished from the first year of the Reagan administration was proposed by the Nixon administration and was supported very broadly across the ideological spectrum. It needs to be brought back. We need to have some incentives to address these issues again because we've learned a lot about how to address them more effectively with a combination of voluntary and mandatory strategies.

There needs to be a very serious look at the fair-housing effort. The law has been a farce. It's totally unenforceable. It has made almost no difference. Congress made it in a way that it was impossible to enforce.

If we're going to take seriously opening up access, we have to have a serious fair-housing law. We also have to have resources directed above the elementary school level for compensatory education because we're having a very serious problem even in the school districts that are doing a good job in upgrading their elementary basic-skills education with the higher order skills in preparing students for college. Part of that is just the extreme isolation of the high schools, part of it is that they need resources to focus on these issues like the elementary schools got a generation ago.

So those are the kinds of things that we'd hope would be added to the Congressional agenda as we begin to try to understand why so many students are dropping out, not getting jobs, and why racial tensions and stereotypes are rising again in the country. These aren't surprises. They were predicted by the people with vision a generation ago. The predictions are coming true.

The problems are not going to go away. We have to deal with them as a country.

Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Dr. Gary Orfield follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF GARY ORFIELD, PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, PUBLIC POLICY AND EDUCATION; DIRECTOR, NATIONAL SCHOOL DESEGREGATION RESEARCH PROJECT, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO, CHICAGO, IL

The issue of life in the segregated low income central city minority communities may well take on for this generation something of the urgency that the last generation came to recognize in the Jim Crow system of the South. Our recent concerns about the "underclass", about the need to force a break in what is described as a cycle of welfare dependency, and about the tragic statistics on the percent of children being born to teenage mothers are all signs that more and more of our people and our leaders are recognizing that something is very wrong. So far, however, we have been much more willing to discuss policies intended to force the residents of the ghettos and barrios to change than to think about some of the large structural features of American urban society that create and sustain separate societies, separate economies, and growing hopelessness in the inner cities.

I believe that Martin Luther King was right when he pointed to the system of imposed separation as an elemental evil in American urban society. King was shocked at the bitter resistance he met to school and housing integration in his Chicago campaign. King spoke of the "depression and hopelessness which the hearts of our cities pump into the spiritual bloodstream of our lives." He assailed the "vicious cycle" in which poor education and isolation from suburban jobs led to unemployment, welfare dependency, and more generations of children trained by ghetto schools and ghetto life so that "already in childhood their lives are crushed mentally, emotionally, and physically...."

Segregated inner city schools are an essential part of that vicious cycle and their consequences may well be even more far-reaching today than when Dr. King was marching. Most of the nation's largest urban school districts have become predominantly black and Hispanic since that time. There has been no progress since 1972 in desegregation of black students. Our rapidly growing Hispanic communities have actually become a great deal more segregated, now even more isolated from whites than black students according to some measures of segregation. Congress has taken no significant positive actions on school desegregation since the enactment of the 1972 Emergency School Aid Act, which was repealed in 1981. Meanwhile, I believe, the kind of isolation that exists in the areas of the country that are the most segregated--the large metropolitan areas of the Northeast and Midwest--has become even more devastating.

If blacks were not far poorer, with far less educated parents, and were not concentrated in decaying schools with teachers often planning to transfer somewhere else, the issue would not be so serious. The fact is that research in Wisconsin, Calfornia, and Illinois all shows an extremely high relationship between the percent minority in a school and the percent of poor children in that school. There are very few poverty level white schools in metropolitan America. There are few minority schools that are not largely poor. A poor white child is much more likely to be in a school where most families are making it and where there are high expectations and solid competition than many middle class black children. There is a very strong relationship between race, poverty, and achievement

Table 1

CHANGES IN SEGREGATION OF BLACK AND HISPANIC STUDENTS IN THE U.S., 1968-1984

	Black Students	Hispanic Students
Percent in Predominantly Minority Schools		
1968	76.6	54.8
1972	63.6	56.6
1980	63.5	70.6
CHANGE 1968-1984	-13.1	+15.8
Percent in Intensely Segregated Schools		
1968	64.3	23.1
1972	38.7	23.3
1980	33.2	28.8
1984	33.2	31.0
CHANGE 1968-1984	-31.1	+8.9
Percent of White Students in School of Typical Black or Hispanic		
1970	32.0	43.8
1980	36.2	35.5
1984	35.8	33.7
CHANGE 1970-1984	+3.8	-10.1

test scores. If one looks at dropout rates or college entrance exam scores, for example, research we are now doing on high schools in metropolitan Chicago shows almost no poor children and almost no minority children in most of the highly successful schools and almost no white children and a great many poor children in the schools with massive problems. Our studies show that serious pre-collegiate preparation is simply not available in many inner city minority schools--courses are not offered, teachers in key fields are not on the staff, fewer counselors are available, and the level of competition in those courses that are offered is not adequate to prepare the students for college. I believe that in many highly segregated metropolitan areas, children who grow up in ghettos or barrios are almost never offered the kind of training in the kind of setting that the great majority of whites take as a basic right and expectation. We have minority schools that are preparing students only for separate and unequal opportunities.

School desegregation is no panacea for these problems, but it is one important part of the solution. Properly implemented desegregation must include the suburbs as well as the city and it must take place at the earliest possible grade, before racial stereotypes and achievement gaps create almost unbridgeable gaps. When done properly, school desegregation not only has a positive educational impact, but it helps to build a bridge out into the mainstream of society. Very important recent research shows that it makes a difference for college, for jobs as an adult, and for the likelihood that the student will later live in an integrated rather than a

Table 2

NATIONAL ENROLLMENT BY RACE, 1968-1984

	1968	1970	1980	1984	Change 1968-84
Black	6282173	6707411	6417433	6388670	+1.7%
Hispanic	2002776	2275403	3178771	3598511	+79.7%
Asian	194022*	209092*	748923	994108	+412.4%
Indian	177464	197109	305643	364313	+105.2%
White	34697133	35482656	29162352	28106295	-19.0%
TOTAL	43353568	44875543	39813122	39451897	- 9.0%

*no racial survey data is available from Hawaii for these years. In 1980 the enrollment in Hawaii was 71% Asian and Hawaii provided 15.5% of the total Asian enrollment in the U.S.. approximately 116,000 students.

Table 3

SEGREGATION OF BLACK AND HISPANIC STUDENTS
BY REGION, 1984

Region	% in predominantly minority schools		% in 90-100% minority schools	
	Blacks	Hispanics	Blacks	Hispanics
SOUTH	56.9	75.4	24.2	37.3
BORDER	62.5	**	37.4	**
NORTHEAST	73.1	77.5	47.4	47.1
MIDWEST	70.7	53.9	43.6	24.2
WEST	66.9	68.4	33.7	31.0

** small number of Hispanics in region.

Table 4

MOST INTEGRATED AND MOST SEGREGATED METROPOLITAN AREAS FOR BLACK STUDENTS, in Southern and Border states, 1984

area	% of white students in school of typical black student
Tampa- St. Petersburg	66.3%
Wilmington	65.7%
Louisville	65.4%
Greenville, S.C.	61.1%
Baltimore	15.8%
Miami	16.1%
Atlanta	17.2%
New Orleans	18.0%

segregated residential community. In an increasingly multiracial society, where there may be almost half non-white students in American public schools around the turn of the century, these are extremely important outcomes, not only for the minority students but for the viability of society.

We now have the experience of hundreds of different desegregation plans for a decade and a half. The outlines of successful strategies are not difficult to discern. If school integration is to become a part of the solution to the dangerous problems created by millions of children and young adults without any place in or concern for the larger society, we must think on a large scale, and we must create incentives for positive local change rather than throw roadblocks in the way. There is an urgent need for Congress to put back into the Education Department a large program of desegregation assistance, a program that would reward voluntary change and build attractive educational options and incentives into desegrggation plans. Educational leaders should recognize that the most effective plans have been those that have include the city and the suburbs and realize that those plans become much more stable in the long run than any more limited alternative. They begin to move a society where schooling has become dangerously associated with race and class back toward a society of common schools, where all races and economic levels share an interest in protecting and upgrading the schools that serve all groups. We should take advantage of the positive features of "controlled choice" plans, in which we have learned to achieve very highly levels of desegregation with lower levels of coercion than were used in the past. Finally, we need to run housing programs in ways that expand and support integrated education rather than continuously undermine it.

The Kerner Commission warned the nation in 1968 that we would become "two societies, separate and unequal" unless there were major coordinated efforts to both upgrade ghetto life and institutions and to bring down the wall between the minority and white sections of urban America. Since that time there has been extremely little progress on the attack on the urban color line and the issue has virtually disappeared from public debate. Under Presidents Nixon and Reagan there have been major efforts made, as well, to cut back the efforts to upgrade ghetto institutions, to make them at least somewhat more "separate but equal." It has been a generation that shut its eyes to the deepening social and institutional collapse in the central city and dismissed the Kerner warnings as mere rhetoric. All of the signs of social pathology and economic and educational collapse that are beginning to disturb so many Americans today, are not reflections of some kind of inferior culture. They are clear signs that Dr. King and the Kerner Commission were right and that we are becoming separate societies within our metropolitan regions. The trend is deeply threatening to the viability of a future society in which more and more of our people will be from the inner city society that has no connection with and no stake in the American mainstream. Few tasks are so urgent as beginning to rebuild bridges between those societies and creating ways into the mainstream.

School desegregation is one of the most important of those ways. It and a much more serious attack on residential discrimination deserve our immediate attention.

Chairman MILLER. Thank you very much, Dr. Orfield. Mr. Kelley?

STATEMENT OF BRUCE KELLEY, PROGRAM DIRECTOR, CALIFORNIA TOMORROW, SAN FRANCISCO, CA

Mr. KELLEY. Thank you.

I was asked today to provide an overview from the state that's been mentioned so often already today, California, about the race relations and school experience particularly of immigrants.

California is the landing place of one in three new immigrants in the U.S., and so provides a huge case study for what the rest of the nation is going to go through as immigration continues at its rapid pace, bringing Latin American and Asian families with young people who end up in our schools.

The summary is that volatile race relations are a real and pervasive problem for immigrant youth in California. These uncomfortable relations lead not only to fear and occasional violence; they also isolate immigrants from other students, obstruct the process of learning English, and damage student achievement.

Though race relations still tend to be viewed through the black/white prism, that picture just doesn't apply in California and never will again. A typical black-, white-, or Chicano-dominated urban student body in California—most schools are dominated by one race, as Professor Orfield has pointed out; it's very segregated today—is likely also to enroll sizeable groups of Central American, Filipino, Vietnamese, Hmong, Cambodian, Mexican, Korean, or Chinese immigrant youth. Congressman Miller mentioned that 30 percent of kids of school age are foreign born. And out of 4 million students right now in California, more than 500,000 of them are what's called limited English proficient, which means they speak little or no English. That's one in eight.

For this wide range of students and their parents, teachers and school administrators, it turns out, to make heads or tails of each other is a very daunting challenge. In our research, due to result in a report coming out in the fall, we interviewed 170 immigrants in-depth, we've taken public testimony from nearly 50 educators, parents and social workers, and the evidence of endemic cultural misunderstanding and racial tension is overwhelming.

We started out the research to look at immigrant youth on a whole wide variety of issues, including language and achievement, but it's ended up focusing a lot on race relations. When we conclude the remaining 300 interviews this summer, it appears likely that because the kids we interviewed talk about it so much, many of the policy recommendations, very many of them, will be directed at smoothing race relations in the schools. It makes sense given the demographics right now. A quarter of public school kids in California are Latino, an eighth are Asian, another eighth are black, and only half are white. By the year 2000 whites will comprise barely a third of school enrollment statewide.

As we are only interviewing immigrants, what I will say about our preliminary results will sound one-sided; basically that immigrants, particularly Asian immigrants, are getting bullied on campuses all over the state of California.

The immigrants report that they have particular problems with black kids. The relevant message is not that black kids are beating up Asian immigrants. The message is that unless school officials deal with cultural conflicts rather than avoid them, the native groups in any school subjugate the immigrant groups. Their major provocation: the immigrant's newness and differentness. The black-Asian conflict, then, mostly reflects how immigrants have settled near black neighborhoods and attend schools with predominantly black student bodies. The key determinant of conflict is who has the dominant enrollment and who is subjugated by numbers. At Mission High School in San Francisco, for instance, with its predominantly Asian and Latino immigrant student body, counselors report that it is a handfull of white kids who feel alienated and unwelcome and tend to drop out.

Given this focus on immigrants, the first thing to remember is that they have immigrated. Under the best of conditions, immigration during adolescence is a profoundly stressful psychological experience. And the immigrants to California have tended to face not the best of conditions.

The Salvadoran and Guatemalan kids have generally seen great violence in their homelands, they are here illegally, they fear going back home to army recruitment and perhaps death, and they are often here separated from their immediate family. The Laotian, Cambodian and Vietnamese students, many of whom grew up in refugee camps, test as emotionally overburdened in mental health examinations when they arrived. The Mexicans, coming as they do from Mexico, tend to be impoverished. Perhaps the only thing that keeps these immigrants sane, in fact, during this arduous immigration trauma is the dream of a welcoming America. Yet, when they arrive at school, the level of abuse is astounding.

Every single Asian immigrant we have interviewed gave accounts of being punched, made fun of, harrassed, mimicked, or robbed by fellow students. Reports one Asian counselor, "They are frequently embarrassed and intimidated because of the way they look, they live, and they dress. They sense the lack of respect for their presence at the school. That's something they have never experienced in the old country." Many of the Central American and Mexican immigrants report abuses as well, usually at the hands of native Latinos. This uniformally unwelcoming reception proves a big blow. One study in Connecticut found a top predictor of emotional distress among Vietnamese students, second only to being female, was not getting along with classmates.

In response the immigrant students shut their mouths and stick together, remaining entirely separate on school campuses. Many report that the isolation hurts their English acquisition as well as their feelings.

In the words of one student, "I value friends a lot, but I had a hard time making friends with American students. The students I guess weren't mature enough. There was prejudice, like 'Go back to where you belong.' To learn English you have to speak out and you have to practice by speaking out. But I was surrounded only by the students limited in English."

Said another student, an immigrant from Taiwan three years ago, "The fact is that American students don't want to talk to us. They only tease our English and make fun of us. I've been pushed, I've had gum thrown in my hair, I've been hit by stones, I've been shot by an air gun. I've been insulted by all the dirty words in English. My memories through these three years are full of tears. Some of Americans' attitudes towards us broke our hearts."

Different immigrant groups react differently to this augmented stress, according to social service workers. El Salvadoran and Guatamalan youth report high rates of drug and alcohol abuse. Filipino youth whose families immigrated when they were adolescents are reportedly turning to gangs, in the words of one social worker, "as a method of gaining self-esteem and as a method of power." What they miss, she says, is the extended traditional family support system that they had in the Philippines.

In San Francisco's Chinatown a study of youth of 13 to 19 found that 61 percent were taking quaaludes. Said the researcher, "it makes them feel braver, less afraid to be assertive."

The racial tension also has implications for academic achievement. Contrary to reports of immigrant academic success, many immigrant groups—what one teacher we talked to called the "silent population"—are not doing very well. Recent scores from California twelfth graders found that in verbal tests the Asian scored 54, far below the state average of 62.7. Southeast Asians, who are the Vietnamese, Hmong and Cambodian refugees, scored 45 in verbal, the lowest among all state groups. So the underclass that Professor Orfield talks about, Hispanic and black, it already includes the Southeast Asians. In math the state average was 68.7 and the Southeast Asian score was 62.8. So the media myth of the model minority among the Asians is not uniform to say the least.

The immigrants who do achieve in school, who are primarily the middle class and Korean and Chinese immigrants who've come in the last 10 to 15 years, seem to do so only through a discipline belying their youth.

Reports the Taiwanese student I quoted earlier, "Almost all immigrants go through the same experience as I did. Some of them give up struggling and start to use drugs. Some of them become gang members to fight back. I chose a different way to go. I studied very, very hard. I don't go to bed until 3 or 4:00 in the morning every day."

That the immigrant kids talk about race relations constantly is, to my mind, the clearest sign of the scope of the problem. Of our first 170 interviews, 82 percent said that racial tension or violence was sadly prevalent at their school.

Anyone who has attended a school marked by fear can tell you that it makes you grow up fast, too fast, when you must train yourself to accept violent actions as a necessary recourse if that moment comes your way. Though you'll have to wait until fall for California Tomorrow's final report and recommendations, common sense indicates that there must be more done at individual schools to explain what immigration is and to encourage sharing among students of their very different styles and experiences.

The Connecticut study of Vietnamese mentioned earlier found that another major predictor of emotional distress was, of all things, not knowing American dances. Dances and sporting events, it turns out, are often a school's only formal social interchange and play a big role in determining how welcome an immigrant group is. Some things never change, I guess.

The few effective schools and programs that we have found in California, and there aren't very many, concentrate extraordinary energy on things like dances and cultural programs, breeding acceptance whenever they can, and find that when resources are devoted correctly and teachers well trained, the problem of diversity becomes a great benefit.

I'd welcome any questions when the panel gets going. Thank you.

[Prepared statement of Bruce Kelley follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF BRUCE KELLEY, PROGRAM DIRECTOR, CALIFORNIA TOMORROW, SAN FRANCISCO, CA

Members of the committee, thank you for this opportunity. I was asked today to provide an overview from California--which I will remind you is home to one-tenth of the nation's population, quite a sample--about the race relations and school experiences of immigrants. The summary is that volatile race relations are a real and pervasive problem for immigrant youth. These uncomfortable relations not only lead to fear and occasional violence. They also isolate immigrants from other students, obstruct the process of learning English, and damage student achievement.

Though race relations still tends to be viewed through the black/white prism, that picture doesn't apply, at least in California, and never will again. A typical black-, white- or Chicano-dominated urban student body in California is likely also to enroll sizeable groups of Central American, Filipino, Vietnamese, Hmong, Cambodian, Mexican, Korean or Chinese immigrant youth. For all of these students and their parents, teachers, and school administrators to make heads or tails of each other is a daunting challenge, we are finding. In our research, due to result in a report and recommendations this fall, we have interviewed 170 immigrants in-depth, taken public testimony in San Francisco and Los Angeles from nearly 50 educators, parents, and social workers. The evidence of endemic cultural misunderstanding and racial tension is overwhelming. We did not intend the project to focus on race relations. But when we conclude our planned 500 interviews this summer it appears likely that because the kids themselves talk about it so much, many of our recommendations will be directed at race relations. This makes sense: within a generation, it is projected, whites will comprise barely a third of school enrollment. Right now, a quarter of our 4.2 million public school kids are Latino, an eighth are Asian, another eighth are Black, more than 500,000 students in the state do not speak English, and conflicts result. It also makes sense that as nation's diversity begins to approach that of California, as it will, the policy ideas we produce this fall might very well be useful elsewhere.

As we are only interviewing immigrants, what I will tell you will sound one-sided, basically that immigrants, particularly Asian immigrants, are getting bullied on campuses all over the state. The immigrants report that they have particular problems with black kids. The message is not that black kids are beating up Asian immigrants. The message is that unless school officials stress cultural issues rather than avoid them the native groups in any school subjugate the immigrant groups, their major provocation the immigrant's newness and differentness. In California a major explanation of the black-Asian conflict is that immigrants have more often landed near black neighborhoods and attended schools with blacks. The key determinant generally is who has the dominant enrollment and who is subjugated by numbers. At Mission High in San Francisco, for instance, with its predominantly Asian and Latino immigrant student body, counselors report that the handfull of white kids feel alienated and unwelcome, and tend to drop out.

Given this focus on immigrants, the first thing to remember is that they have immigrated. Under the best of conditions immigration during adolecence is a profoundly stressful psychological experience. And the immigrants to California have tended not to face the best of conditions. The Salvadoran and Guatemalan kids have generally seen great violence in their homeland, they are here illegally, they fear going back home to army recruitment and perhaps death, and they have often been separated from immediate family. The Laotian, Cambodian and Vietnamese students, many who grew up in refugee camps, also test as emotionally overburdened in mental health examinations. The Mexicans generally have come from the poverty distinct to that nation. In fact it seems the only thing that keeps the immigrants sane during this arduous immigration trauma has been the dream of a welcoming America.

Yet, when they arrive at school, the level of abuse is astounding. Every single Asian immigrant we have interviewed gave accounts of being punched, made fun of, harrassed, mimicked, or robbed by fellow students. Reports one Asian counselor: "They are frequently embarrassed and intimidated because of the way they look, they live, they dress. They sense the lack of respect for their presence at the school. That's something they didn't experience in the old country." Many of the Central American and Mexican immigrants report abuses at the hands of native Latinos. The unwelcoming reception proves a big blow. One study in Connecticut found a top predictor of emotional distress among Vietnamese students--second only to being female--was not getting along with classmates.

In response the immigrant students shut their mouths and stick together. Many report that the isolation hurts English acquisition. In the words of one student:

> "I value friends but I had a hard time making friends with American students. The students I guess weren't mature enough. There was prejudice, like 'Go back where you belong.' To learn English you have to speak out and you have to practice by speaking out. But I was surrounded by the students limited in English. I was ashamed, I felt afraid of being made fun of (for my English)."

Said another student, an immigrant from Taiwan three years ago:

> "The fact is that American students don't want to talk to us. They only tease our English and make fun of us. I've been pushed, I had gum thrown on my hair, I've been hit by stones, I've been shot by an air gun. I've been insulted by all the dirty words in English. My memories through these three years are full of tears. Some of American's attitudes towards us broke our hearts."

Different immigrant groups react differently to this augmented stress, according to social service workers. El Salvadoran and Guatemalan youth report high rates of drug and alcohol abuse. Filipino youth whose families immigrated when they were adolecents are reported turning to gangs and drugs, in the words of one social worker, "as a method of gaining self-esteem and as a method of power." She concludes: "Gone is the extended traditional family support system in the Phillipines." In San Francisco's Chinatown a study of youth 13 to 19 found that 61% were using quaaludes. Said the researcher: "(The drug makes them) feel braver, less afraid to be assertive." The racial tension also has implications for academic achievement. Contrary to reports of immigrant academic success, many immigrant groups-- the "silent population" in the words of one teacher--are not doing well. Recent scores from California 12th-graders found that in verbal tests the state average was 62.7 while Asians as a group scored 54.0 with Southeast

Asians--the Vietnamese, Hmong and Cambodian refugees--scoring 45.0, the lowest among state groups. In math the state average was 68.7 and the Southeast Asian score 62.8. Those immigrants who are achieving in school--middle-class Korean and Chinese immigrants in particular--do so through a discipline belying their youth. Reports the Taiwanese student quoted earlier:

> "Almost all immigrants go through the same experience as I did. Some of them give up struggling and start to use drugs. Some of them become gang members to fight back. I chose a different way to go. I study very, very hard. I don't go to bed until 3 or 4 o'clock in the morning every day."

That the immigrant kids talk about race relations constantly is, to my mind, the clearest sign of the scope of the problem. Of our first 170 interviews, 82% said that racial tension or violence was sadly prevalent at school. Anyone who has attended a school marked by fear can tell you that it makes you grow up fast, too fast, when you must train yourself to accept violent actions as a necessary recourse if that moment comes your way. Though you will have to wait until fall for California Tomorrow's final report and recommendations, common sense indicates that there must be more done at individual schools to explain what immigration is and to encourage sharing among students of their very different styles and experiences. The Connecticut study of Vietnamese mentioned earlier found that another major predictor of emotional distress was not knowing American dances. Dances and sporting events, it turns out, are a school's only really formal social interchange and often determine how welcome a group is. The few effective schools and programs that we have found in California concentrate extraordinary energy on things like dances, and cultural programs, breeding acceptance whenever they can, and find that when recources are devoted correctly and teachers well-trained, the "problem" of diversity becomes a great benefit. Thank you.

Chairman **MILLER**. Thank you. What we will do is we'll hear from the other members and then we'll ask questions at that time. Dr. Comer, before you testify, Congressman Flake has joined us, Congressman Floyd Flake, a new member of the Congress, from Queens, New York.

Welcome, Floyd, to the committee and we look forward to your testimony.

STATEMENT OF HON. FLOYD H. FLAKE, A MEMBER OF CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF NEW YORK

Mr. **FLAKE**. Thank you very much, George. I'm happy to be here. Thank you for inviting me to share in this, what I consider to be one of the most important discussions facing us today in 1987 as we consider the many problems that are before us. This problem of racism, and particularly for our discussion this morning, adolescents and racism, is one that we can no longer sweep under the rug, but must bring out to the floor so that we might be able to address the problem adequately and determine how we might be able to live better as human beings with one another.

I think that the problem we have is that as we look at what has happened over the last twenty years. Many people saw the streets of the sixties as there were freedom marches and riots taking place. Many people thought that beyond that, that the problem of racism in America had been solved. The reality is that there were many programs; there were many attempts for social and economic mobility and development. But the reality is that the problem of racism was not solved, but rather, that it had gone undercover and now again rears its ugly head.

I serve as congressman of the sixth district in New York which includes the area of Howard Beach. And so, with some firsthand knowledge, having worked over the last few months in putting together various racial—various groups of whites and blacks so that they might be able to try to determine long range goals and objectives to help and assist people not only through the process of this moment's experience, but so that we do not come back time and time again addressing the same old problems.

The reality is that we have the problem because those persons who are now in college, where we are experiencing a great deal of problems—the University of Massachusetts, the University of Michigan, the Citadel, and other places in this nation where black students are being jumped on, seems to indicate that those who were adolescents of—those who were adolescents in the sixties somehow or another, as they have become adults and have produced their own children, who are currently adolescents, there has been a transfer of attitudes, a transfer of the attitude of racism.

It would seem that this would not be the case, but the reality is that as we consider the problems of unemployment, the problems that seem to suggest that blacks have taken away from whites rather than have become participants in a process of equanimity as it relates to jobs and as it relates to the places, the work place and the relationship to education, that there is a threatening and that threatening has caused whites, who themselves have matured, to reach back to old methods in dealing with problems of how not only to preserve themselves, but how to preserve the status quo with a new understanding of what it means to be a superior people.

I think we need to address ourselves, then, to some very serious issues. And let me just list a few of them so that we might be able to see how this problem of adolescents is projected, and I'd like to start off by talking about media projection. I think that that's one of the major problems we really have, and that is: how we look at those persons who are presented to us by media.

There are many who tend to believe now that the problem of racism is over because Bill Cosby is the top rated television show in America. It projects a black family that is doing well. It talks about a doctor, which obviously would suggest some degree of accomplishment, a wife who is in law school, and children who are all together in a very harmonious relationship.

The reality is that The Bill Cosby Show is not real to America. So we need to understand that there are so many others in America who do not live like Dr. Cosby, who do not live in this manner, but in reality live in a much different kind of way.

The other part of the problem is that, on the one hand, we look at Cosby; on the other hand, we look at Different Strokes and Webster. What is projected there as the way for blacks to get out of their condition, to get out of the economic throws that seem to be destroying them, is for some black child to be adopted by a white family.

This clearly must have some impact on the mind of an adolescent who looks to discover that a child's way out of the ghetto is either to come into a white family or to bounce a basketball or hit a baseball or run faster than another white child.

We need to understand that all of these projections in many ways have some degree of effect on every child as they are in the process of growth.

Another instance is that there was a lack of role models. We ask, does it make a difference whether there are blacks on the police force, whether there is a corresponding number of teachers and schools where there is a predominantly black student population and there is a minority white teacher population?

For instance, in New York, in my particular district, we have 80 percent black students in school, 20 percent black teachers, and we say, why is it that 54 percent of the high school students are dropping out? It is because they have no role models. They are asking the question what difference does it make? I cannot get a job on the police department, I cannot get a job as a teacher, and certainly could not even hope to aspire to become a preacher, I mean, to become a principal. [Laughter.]

Chairman **Miller**. It's time for a full disclosure. [Laughter.]

Mr. **Flake**. I happen to also be a preacher. Forgive me, for those who don't know. I'm a pastor at a church in New York and have 5,000 members, so I'm always tuned in to preaching, so forgive me.

Even further, as we look at the 6:00 news and as we look at the stars of the newscast media, there is such a small number that would even suggest to a young black child that there is any hope. And so this sense of superiority that develops on the part of a white adolescent would seem to suggest that I can be anything that I wish to be, I can become whatever I intend; while with the black child there is the feeling what difference does it really make?

There is another problem. As we further examine education and we discover that the whole notion that many of us fought for, integration in the sixties, has led us to the point where what integration means is that black students take the subway or the train or the bus and go into white schools where those who have the best schools are afforded the opportunity to get into those schools; while our ghetto schools still have the students that the system will not allow out, the students that no other schools in the district want.

Where there is a disproportionate amount of monies that are allocated to schools in black communities in particular, as opposed to those in white schools in the same particular community district, it seems to suggest that the only way, the only qualitative means for one to be able to get an education is to move from the black community to the white community. There is no corresponding transfer of white students back to the black community.

Therefore, it says there was nothing in the black community worth going back to, unless you want to go and visit one of the soul food restaurants, and you go there and eat and then you leave.

The reality is that we need to address this whole problem of images, because the only way we can change the mind, the attitude of our young adolescents, is to deal with the reality that what they see in most instances of blacks is a very negative kind of projection.

There was a feeling that many blacks are lazy, that they do not work. There was a feeling that most blacks are on welfare. This projection is borne out in most national media and we need to address that whole approach and that whole attempt to try to disparage that—to bring some understanding that that is not, in fact, the way it is.

As we look at where we are in 1987, the disparity that exists between black and whites in all areas of employment, the income levels, and as we look—and I don't want to be partisan in terms of politics, but the pre-Reagan era, in the pre-Reagan era there was a period in which black income was at $6,413, white income $10,902. As we look at where we are now, black income is at $6,319 after accounting for inflation, which is a decrease, while white income, $11,034, which is an increase.

We need to understand that though we have been, for the last 20 years, talking about affirmative action, talking about opening the door, opening the way so that minorities might achieve, the gap has indeed widened.

And so, in order for us to really address the attitudes of young blacks and young whites, superior attitudes and inferior attitudes, there must be attempts on our part as it relates to how we educate, how we project, how we use media, how we talk to and how we talk about people who are of a different color, who are of a different race, who are of a different creed, but are really no different because they are human beings and because they are Americans.

And when we can come to a fuller understanding of what it means to be able to live together and to appreciate that which is different in us, but understand that there is so much that is the same, then, and only then, can we hope to participate in a process where our young people can look at each other as human beings rather than seeing them as objects.

Thank you very much.

Prepared Statement of Congressman Floyd H. Flake, a Representative in Congress From the State of New York

THE PROBLEM OF RACISM AND THE ADOLESCENT IS A VERY CRITICAL ONE, PERHAPS ONE OF THE MOST CRITICAL PROBLEMS FACING AMERICA TODAY. THEREFORE, I AM THANKFUL FOR THE OPPORTUNITY TO SHARE SOME OF MY THOUGHTS ON THIS SUBJECT WITH YOU. MANY PEOPLE HAVE COME TO BELIEVE THAT FOLLOWING THE FREEDOM MARCHES AND RIOTS OF THE SIXTIES THAT RACISM IN AMERICA WAS ELIMINATED. IT WOULD SEEM THAT IT SHOULD BE SO. HOWEVER, THE REALITY IS QUITE THE CONTRARY. BLATANT AND OVERT ACTS OF RACISM HAVE NOT BEEN AS PREVALENT. INSTEAD, INSIDIOUS, MORE PERVASIVE ACTS AND ATTITUDES ARE EVIDENT. NOW, WE ARE AT A POINT WHERE RACISM HAS AGAIN REARED ITS UGLY HEAD.

THE PROBLEM OF RACISM HAS SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES FOR YOUNG PEOPLE IN THEIR ADOLESCENT YEARS. AS WE REFLECT ON THE SIXTIES, IT WOULD APPEAR THAT THE YOUNG CHILDREN CURRENTLY ACTING OUT IN A RACIST MANNER ARE THE CHILDREN OF THE YOUNG PEOPLE WHO MARCHED FOR EQUALITY FOR BLACKS IN THE SIXTIES. WHAT HAPPENED?

COULD IT BE THAT THE IMPACT OF UNEMPLOYMENT COMBINED

WITH CHANGE IN ECONOMIC CONDITIONS, AND OTHER FACTORS ALTERED THE ENTIRE THINKING PROCESS AS IT RELATES TO WHAT EQUALITY AND AFFIRMATIVE ACTION REALLY MEAN?

COULD IT BE THAT MANY OF THOSE WHO ESPOUSE THE NOTION OF A FREE, JUST AND RIGHTEOUS SOCIETY DISCOVERED THAT BLACKS IN THE MARKETPLACE REPRESENTED COMPETITION FOR JOBS, POSITIONS IN GRADUATE SCHOOLS, AND OTHER SOCIAL OPPORTUNITIES THAT PROHIBITED THEM FROM RISING AS FAST AS THEY THOUGHT THEY SHOULD ON THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC CAREER LADDER. I SUSPECT THAT THERE HAS BEEN A DEVELOPMENT OF FEAR, ALTHOUGH UNWARRANTED, THAT THE BLACK QUEST FOR EQUALITY TOOK SOMETHING AWAY FROM WHITES.

MEDIA HAS PLAYED A VERY IMPORTANT ROLE IN CREATING MANY OF THE ATTITUDES THAT WHITES CURRENTLY HAVE. MEDIA ALL TOO OFTEN PRESENTS STEREOTYPED IMAGES OF BLACKS, PARTICULARLY IN ITS METHOD OF REPORTING NEGATIVE EVENTS IN WHICH BLACKS ARE INVOLVED.

THE FIVE DOLLAR CRIMES OF BLACKS MAKE FRONT PAGE NEWS WHILE THE FIVE HUNDRED MILLION DOLLAR CRIMES OF WHITES ARE RELEGATED TO THE BUSINESS PAGE. THESE CRIMES EVEN HAVE THEIR OWN DEFINITION, "WHITE COLLAR CRIME".

WHITE ADOLESCENTS ARE LED TO BELIEVE THAT IF YOU ARE WHITE AND COMMIT A CRIME, YOU NEED NOT FEAR SEVERE PUNISHMENT BECAUSE, "THE SYSTEM TAKES CARE OF ITS OWN". THIS IS BORNE OUT BY THE OVERWHELMING PROPORTION OF BLACKS BEING INCARCERATED COMPARED TO THE WHITE POPULATION.

FURTHER REINFORCEMENT OF STEREOTYPES IS CREATED IN SHOWS LIKE THE "COSBY SHOW", WHICH IS A VERY POSITIVE SHOW REPRESENTING A A TREMENDOUSLY POSITIVE IMAGE OF BLACK FAMILY LIFE. BLACKS AND WHITES ARE VERY PROUD OF ITS SUCCESS. HOWEVER, TO MANY WHITES, THE HUXTABLE FAMILY REINFORCES THE FEAR THAT BLACKS ARE ACHIEVING TOO MUCH. BECAUSE OF HISTORICAL STEREOTYPES, MANY WHITES DO NOT ACCEPT THE HUXTABLE FAMILY WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF ACHEIVEMENT BASED ON ABILITY.

AN EVEN MORE DAMAGING PROJECTION IS THAT OF "WEBSTER" AND "DIFFERENT STROKES" WHERE THE IMAGERY SUGGESTS THAT THE WAY FOR BLACKS TO ESCAPE THE GHETTO IS TO BE ADOPTED BY WHITE PARENTS. I WOULD SUGGEST THAT A WHITE ADOLESCENT WATCHING THE SHOW COULD EASILY DEVELOP A SENSE OF SUPERIORITY AND A FEELING THAT BLACKS NEED WHITE PARENTAL GUIDANCE AND DIRECTION IN ORDER TO KNOW HOW TO BEHAVE WHILE GAINING SOCIAL SKILLS AND GRACES.
THE DISPARITY THAT EXISTS BETWEEN BLACKS AND WHITES IS STILL VERY

REAL, AS CAN BE EVIDENCED BY THE STATISTICS THAT CITE THE PER CAPITA INCOME FOR BLACKS DURING THE PRE-REAGAN YEARS WHICH WAS $6,413 AS COMPARED TO $10,902 FOR WHITES. DURING THE REAGAN YEARS, THE PER CAPITA INCOME FOR BLACKS DROPPED TO $6,319 WHILE IT INCREASED TO $11,034 FOR WHITES. I SUSPECT THAT THE AVERAGE ADOLESCENT DOES NOT UNDERSTAND HOW THESE STATISTICS, THAT REFLECT INSTITUTIONALIZED RACISM, AFFECT THE LIVES OF BLACK AND WHITE RELATIONSHIPS IN AMERICA.

ALTHOUGH THE TRADITIONALLY HELD NOTION THAT BLACKS ARE SHIFTLESS, LAZY AND ON WELFARE IS NOT TRUE, THE REALITY IS THAT BLACK GAINS HAVE NOT KEPT PACE WITH WHITE AMERICA. THUS, MANY OF THOSE WHO ARE ON WELFARE, UNEMPLOYED OR HOMELESS REFLECT GENERAL DISCRIMINATION PATTERNS. OTHER PROBLEMS OF RACISM WHICH HAVE DIRECT CONSEQUENCES ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF ADOLESCENT ATTITUDES ARE IN THE AREA OF IMAGES AND ROLE MODELS.

MANY WHITES ASK: DOES IT MATTER WHETHER THERE ARE REPRESENTATIVE NUMBERS OF BLACKS IN THE POLICE DEPARTMENT OR IN THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM? THE ANSWER IS YES. IN A DISTRICT LIKE MINE WHICH INCLUDES HOWARD BEACH WHERE THE MOST RECENT RACIAL INCIDENT OF NATIONAL MAGNITUDE OCCURED, I WOULD HAVE TO BELIEVE THAT IF WHITE AND BLACK STUDENTS SAW MORE BLACKS IN THESE IMPORTANT ROLES IT WOULD MAKE A DIFFERENCE IN ATTITUDES.

MY LOCAL SCHOOL DISTRICT HAS AN 80% MINORITY STUDENT POPULATION WITH A 20% MINORITY TEACHER POPULATION. THE NUMBER OF MINORITY ADMINISTRATORS REPRESENTS ABOUT 10% OF ALL ADMINISTRATORS. THERE ARE TOO FEW ROLE MODELS AND EVEN FEWER REINFORCEMENT MECHANISMS. THEREFORE, MANY OF OUR BLACK YOUTH ASK: DOES IT REALLY MAKE A DIFFERENCE IF WE ARE EDUCATED OR NOT? THIS PROBLEM IS COMPOUNDED BY THE FACT THAT BLACK STUDENTS MUST TRAVEL TO WHITE COMMUNITIES TO BE EDUCATED, WHILE WHITE STUDENTS, ARE EDUCATED IN THEIR OWN COMMUNITY.

IN GENERAL AND TO A VERY LIMITED DEGREE, ONLY A FEW WHITE ADOLESCENTS TRAVEL TO BLACK COMMUNITIES TO BE EDUCATED. THIS CREATES IN THE MIND OF ADOLESCENTS, PARTICULARLY THE WHITE ADOLESCENT, THAT THERE IS NOTHING GOOD TO BE GAINED FROM THE BLACK COMMUNITY. FURTHER REINFORCEMENT LIES IN THE FACT THAT MOST OF THE BLACK STUDENTS WHO ARE PERMITTED TO ATTEND WHITE SCHOOLS, OUTSIDE OF THEIR COMMUNITIES, REPRESENT THE "CREAM OF THE CROP". THEY ARE THE HIGH ACHIEVERS WHO WILL SUCCEED IN ANY SETTING. THE BLACK COMMUNITY SCHOOLS ARE LEFT WITH A DISPROPORTIONATE NUMBER OF STUDENTS WHO ARE MORE DIFFICULT TO EDUCATE, THUS CREATING NEGATIVE STATISTICS RELATIVE TO MATH AND READING SCORES AND OTHER MEASURABLE EDUCATIONAL STANDARDS.

MY RATIONALE FOR INCREASED NUMBERS OF BLACK POLICEMEN IS

BASED ON MY FIRM BELIEVE THAT BLACK POLICEMAN WOULD EXERCISE MORE PATIENCE WITH BLACK YOUTH AND NOT HARRASS THEM FOR MANY OF THE PETTY, NON-MALICIOUS ACTS THAT ARE TYPICAL OF TEENAGERS OF ANY RACE. THEY WOULD BE SENSITIVE, BUT FAIR AND FIRM. THERE IS A PERCEPTION IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY THAT POLICEMEN REPRESENT AN OCCUPATION ARMY BENT ONLY ON SEEING HOW MANY BLACK YOUTHS THEY CAN ARREST.

WHITE ADOLESCENTS GET THE IMPRESSION FROM THE STAGGERING NUMBER OF BLACK YOUTH WHO ARE CARTED OFF TO JAIL, THAT THE ENTIRE BLACK COMMUNITY IS COMPOSED OF CRIMINALLY-MINDED PEOPLE. WE MUST DISPEL ALL NOTIONS OF WHITE SUPERIORITY AND BLACK INFERIORITY AND CHANGE THE BELIEF THAT RACE IS A PRIMARY DETERMINANT OF HUMAN TRAITS. BLACKS MUST BE FAIRLY REPRESENTED IN ALL ASPECTS OF AMERICAN LIFE. COMBATING RACISM IS A NECESSITY FOR AMERICA IF SHE IS TO BECOME A GREATER NATION. ADOLESCENT ATTITUDES MUST BE SHAPED IN PART BY EDUCATION, BUT NOT LIMITED TO IT. THERE MUST BE A PARTNERSHIP OF CHURCH, SCHOOL, GOVERNMENT, HOME AND INDUSTRY IF RACIAL ATTITUDES ARE TO BE CHANGED. THESE ATTITUDES MUST ALSO BE SHAPED BY OUTCRIES FROM ALL PEOPLE FROM ALL RACES, CREEDS AND COLORS.

EACH TIME THAT RACISM REARS ITS UGLY HEAD, WHETHER IN HOWARD BEACH, FORSYTH GEORGIA, THE UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSSETTS, THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN, THE CITADEL, COLUMBIA OR ANY OTHER PLACE

IN THE WORLD, THESE OUTCRIES MUST BE HEARD IN ORDER TO ASSIST THE ADOLESCENT IN DETERMINING WHAT IS RIGHT AND WRONG. THIS WILL ALSO ENABLE THEM TO COME INTO A GREATER SENSE THAT HUMAN DIGNITY AND WORTH HAVE NOTHING TO DO WITH COLOR, BUT EVERYTHING TO DO WITH CHARACTER, WHICH IS COLORLESS. LET US JOIN TOGETHER IN A FIGHT TO CREATE A NATION WHERE RACIAL HARMONY AND BROTHERHOOD IS NOT RHETORIC, BUT A REALITY.

Chairman **Miller**. Thank you very much, Floyd, for your testimony. I appreciate your coming by the Select Committee. We thought we had nabbed you as a member earlier in the year, but we missed. But we're still hoping to——

Mr. **Flake**. Try again because this is still where my heart is.

Chairman **Miller**. I would also like to introduce two members of the committee who came in during the testimony: Congressman Matt McHugh, to my right, from New York. Matt and I came to Congress together in 1975, and Matt is a member of the Appropriations Committee. Congressman David Skaggs, from Colorado, who is a new member of the Congress, a new member of this committee. David, welcome this morning.

I don't know if either of you have any questions of Congressman Flake. If you do, I think we should ask him now because I know he has—you know, you're obviously welcome to stay, but I understand that you also have to go in time.

Dr. Comer, thank you very much for letting us interrupt this panel.

STATEMENT OF JAMES COMER, M.D., MAURICE FALK PROFESSOR OF CHILD PSYCHIATRY, CHILD STUDY CENTER, YALE UNIVERSITY

Dr. **Comer**. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. As the son of a Baptist deacon, I shall start my testimony by saying amen. [Laughter.]

I'd like to applaud the committee for addressing this important issue and I thank you for the opportunity for making my presentation. You've made a number of statements that are similar to my introduction, so I'm going to drop down to another point.

Unfortunately, as a nation we are ill prepared to understand and address the current problems of racial relations. This is the case because we are not proud of our history of slavery and racial abuse. There is no economic or psychosocial benefit for understanding our racial past. Indeed, ignoring it provides some with significant economic, social and psychological benefits.

As a result, most school children do not receive the kind of information that will help them respond to racial issues in an appropriate and responsible way as young people, as adults, and as citizens.

The media provides current information without background knowledge needed for appropriate interpretation. And American leaders, at the highest level of government and business, even social and religious, persons who are responsible for developing problem solving social policy, usually do not have the information necessary to make wise decisions.

When we approach pivotal periods in the course of our nation, such as the current economic changes and conditions, minorities are often scapegoated in a resurgence of racism, in part, as a result of the related uncertainty, anxiety and fear, but in part as a result of our lack of understanding of our racial past.

Public policies which prevented blacks from undergoing the same kind of three generational movement that most whites have undergone are at the heart of our problems today. Between 1865 and 1980 we passed through four general economic eras: agricultural, early, middle and late industrial. After 1980 we moved into the post-industrial and highly scientific and technological age. Most American families have been able to undergo at least three generations of movement since their arrival as immigrants from other countries. This has enabled them to participate in the mainstream of the economy, particularly the primary job market and, as a consequence, meet all of their adult responsibilities: successfully live in families, rear children adequately, find satisfaction and meaning in life, and in turn meet citizenship responsibilities.

Prior to 1900, heads of households could be uneducated and unskilled and still participate in the economy and meet adult responsibilities. This gave them the opportunity to prepare their children to function adequately in the job market of the 1900 to 1945 period when minimal education or skills were required for success. These families had the best chance to prepare their children for the last stage of the industrial era and the post industrial period.

Most immigrant groups came with their religion, language and other aspects of their ethnicity intact, and, therefore, had a high degree of real and potential cohesiveness. They obtained the right to vote in one generation and in turn gained political and economic power.

Under these circumstances, education and economic opportunities were available and reasonable goals for young people. A number of social policies, such as state schools, home loans, and the like facilitated the assimilation of groups with the cohesion, political and economic power necessary to have their needs met. These conditions permitted large numbers of families to succeed and promoted a high level of community and family functioning among groups who experienced them.

The black experience was significantly different, with a much more adverse outcome. Black Americans experienced a break in the structural aspects of their various cultures. The kinship system of organization of families, politics and government, economics and education was destroyed and a system of slavery was imposed.

Slavery was a system of forced dependency characterized by a loss of control, now believed to be the key to psychological well-being. Dependency, acting up and acting out behaviors and depression were frequent outcomes and were transmitted from generation to generation among many.

Religion, or the Black Church, and identification with the slave master limited some of the most negative aspects of slavery. But neither mechanism promoted a full sense of adequacy as blacks and as individuals.

Opportunities in the mainstream of the society after slavery would have decreased the negative effects of the experience. But instead, terror and subterfuge were used to keep blacks away from political activity and primary job market opportunities. As a result, a large segment of the black population did not gain the right to vote until the 1960s.

The Black Church served as a substitute society and provided social and psychological sustenance to many, but it could not address the injustices in the larger society without coming under attack.

Without the vote Blacks could not gain political and economic power. The group was closed out of the primary wealth which accrued from distribution of the land and the business and economic opportunities, and secondary wealth, made possible as a result of primary wealth and political power.

Blacks were closed out of the labor union movement before the 1900s and the apprenticeship jobs and opportunities related to it. Without power, the group was denied educational opportunity. Approximately four to eight times as much money was spent on the elementary and secondary education of white children as black children right up into the 1940s. The disparity was 25 times and more in areas that were disproportionately black. A similar disparity existed in higher education.

By the time the Black Church culture helped produce the first generation of well educated blacks and leaders, and technology had reduced isolation so that the overt denial of black rights was no longer possible, we were already into the third stage of the industrial era. Thus, most black families were not able to undergo the three generations of movement which paralleled industrial development in this country.

Despite this, sustained by the Black Church culture and marginal income, many black families living in rural areas and small towns and in communal pockets of urban areas were able to function reasonably well up until the 1950s. Indeed, as late as 1950, 80 percent of all black families had two parent families. Black neighborhoods were reasonably safe.

But, after World War II, education became the ticket of admission to primary job market positions and increasingly to all jobs. Blacks undereducated in the deep south were most vulnerable to exclusion because of their educational underdevelopment and adverse racial attitudes in the larger social system.

In addition, societal functioning became more complex, requiring a higher level of social skills. For these combined reasons, a number of once adequately functioning families began to function less well. These are the families we now refer to as an underclass. A disproportionate number of such families are black.

But, in addition, past exclusion from political, economic and social ties, contacts and knowledge in the mainstream of the society has contributed to underachievement today in these and other spheres of American life, even among the stable segment of the black community.

Again, these documented facts are not known to most leaders, the general public, and most particularly our young. As a result, during this period of rapid adjustment to the massive changes taking place in our national economy, the traditional racial scapegoating is recurring as a product of our uncertainty and anxiety, despite recent and continued attitudinal and practice gains that have been made in the race-relations area.

It is a particular problem for our youth, in that they did not live through the period of legal discrimination and abuse, the intensified struggle for civil rights, and resulting improved race relations.

They have no way of understanding the black demand for just opportunities within the mainstream of the society or the conditions that exist because of the denial of such opportunities in the past.

Even worse, our national leadership has not attempted to provide understanding or to establish programs that will address race-relations problems. Too many leaders have played groups against each other for political, economic and social gain rather than to address a national problem.

This model of national leadership projected widely by the mass media contributes greatly to our racial tension, the racial tension we are experiencing today. To address the problem, several approaches are needed.

First, it is necessary to develop family and social policies that will see our nation through the massive economic adjustments that are being made, and thereby reduce the underlying anxiety and fear. Second, it is necessary to provide all Americans with the knowledge base necessary to understand past race relations problems and current opportunities. Third, and final, a program is needed to compensate for the adverse conditions of the past.

This must be a massive program, as massive as the Marshall Plan used to restore Europe after World War II, for the trauma created by slavery and racial abuse is as great as social devastation as the physical devastation of the atomic bomb in World War II.

Much of the focus must be in our schools because the schools are the final common pathway for all young people, and much can be done in schools. In our work in the schools of New Haven, Connecticut we've been able to move children from 19 and 18 months behind [From the lowest socio-economic, predominantly black schools] in achievement in the fourth grade, to more than a year above achievement by the fourth grade simply by providing the type of education that's possible and necessary.

There are many other programs that demonstrate that we can prepare black children from low income backgrounds to perform well in today's complex society. But, finally, without the kind of massive social program that is necessary, we aren't going to have that kind of outcome and our racial problems are going to get worse.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman MILLER. Thank you very much.

[Prepared statement of Dr. James Comer follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF JAMES P. COMER, M.D., MAURICE FALK PROFESSOR OF CHILD PSYCHIATRY, YALE CHILD STUDY CENTER, ASSOCIATE DEAN, YALE SCHOOL OF MEDICINE

Race relations problems in the United States have increased sharply over the last year or two. And the chronic problems of school segregation, undereducation, underemployment and unemployment of black youth, and other minorities, are still with us. These conditions hold serious negative consequences for the economic and psychosocial wellbeing of the young people affected, as well as the nation.

Our attention is riveted on the outrageous, uncivilized violence of Howard Beach, New York and the Ku Klux Klan involvement in the lynching of a black youngster in Alabama, as well as the overt racism now being exhibited on college campuses, among our leaders of tomorrow. But at the same time, on those same college campuses, black students are being selected as class officers in record numbers. Sometimes largely black athletic teams at predominantly white schools have huge followings and support. And the "Cosby Show," the "Oprah Winfrey Show," and other black shows and personalities are extremely popular among blacks and whites of all ages. In short, our racial problem is more complex than simple racism, though that is the end expression.

When we approach difficult periods in the course of our nation--such as current economic changes and conditions--minorities are often scapegoated in a resurgence of racism, largely as a result of the related uncertainty, anxiety and fear, but in part, as a result of our lack of understanding of our racial past. Unfortunately, as a nation, we are ill prepared to understand and address the current race relations problem. This is the case because we are not proud of our history of slavery and racial abuse. And there is no economic or psychosocial benefit for understanding our racial past; indeed, ignoring it provides some with significant economic, social and psychological benefits. As a result most school children do not receive the kind of information that will help them respond to racial issues in an appropriate and responsible way as young people or as adults and citizens. The media provides current information without the background knowledge needed for appropriate interpretation. And American leaders, at the highest level of government and business, even social and religious--persons who are responsible for developing problem solving social policy--usually do not have the information necessary to make wise decisions.

Public policies which prevented blacks from undergoing the same kind of three generational movement as most whites are at the heart of our problems today. Between 1865 and 1980 we passed through the agricultural, early, middle and late industrial eras. After the 1980's we moved into the post industrial and highly scientific and technological age. Most Americans were able to undergo three generations of movement which enabled them to participate in the mainstream of the economy, particularly the primary job market, and as a consequence, meet all of their adult responsibilities--successfully live in families, rear children adequately, find satisfaction and meaning in life, and in turn, meet citizenship responsibilities. Prior to 1900 heads of households could meet adult responsibilities without an education. This gave them the opportunity to prepare their children to function adequately on the job market of the 1900 to 1945 period when moderate education and skill was required for success. These families had the best chance to prepare their children for the last stage of the industrial era, and the post industrial period.

Most immigrant groups came with their religion, language and/or other aspects of their ethnicity intact, and, therefore, had a high degree of real and potential cohesiveness. They obtained the right to vote in one generation and, in turn, political and economic power. Under these circumstances, education and economic opportunities were available and reasonable goals for young people. A number of social policies such as state schools, home loans, and the like facilitated the assimilation of groups with the cohesion, political and economic power necessary to have their needs met. These conditions permitted large numbers of families to succeed and promoted a high level of community and family functioning among groups who experienced them.

The black experience was significantly different, with a more adverse outcome. Black Americans experienced a break in the structural aspects of their various cultures. The highly structured and organizing West African kinship system of organization of families, politics and government, economics and education was destroyed and a system of slavery was imposed. Slavery was a system of forced dependency, characterized by a loss of control--now believed to be the key to psychological wellbeing. Dependency, acting up and acting out behaviors, and depression were frequent outcomes and were transmitted from generation to generation among many. Religion, or the Black Church, and identification with the slave master limited some of the most negative effects of slavery. But neither mechanism promoted a full sense of adequacy, as blacks or as individuals.

Opportunities in the mainstream of the society after slavery would have decreased the negative effects of the experience. But instead, terror and subterfuge were used to keep blacks away from political activity and primary job market opportunities. As a result, a large segment of the black population did not gain the vote until the 1960's. The Black Church served as a substitute society and provided social and psychological sustenance to many, but it could not address the injustices in the larger system without being violently attacked.

Without the vote blacks could not gain political and economic power. The group was closed out of the primary wealth which accrued from distribution of the land and the business and economic opportunities--secondary wealth--made possible as a result of primary wealth and political power. Blacks were closed out of the labor union movement and the apprenticeship jobs and opportunities related to it. Without power the group was denied educational opportunity. Approximately four to eight times more money was spent on the education of the white population than on blacks into the 1940's. The disparity was twenty-five times and more in areas that were disproportionately black. A similar disparity existed in higher education.

By the time the Black Church culture helped produce the first generation of well educated blacks and leaders, and technology reduced isolation so that the overt denial of black rights was no longer possible, we were already into the third stage of the industrial era. Thus, most black families were not able to undergo the three generations of movement which paralleled industrial development in this country. Despite this, sustained by the Black Church culture and marginal income, many black families living in rural areas and small towns, and in communal pockets of urban areas, were able to function reasonably well right up until the 1950's. Indeed, as late as 1950 80% of all black families had two parents. Black neighborhoods were reasonably safe.

But after World War II education became the ticket of admission to primary job market positions, and increasingly to all jobs. Blacks, undereducated in the deep south, were most vulnerable to exclusion because of their educational underdevelopment and adverse racial attitudes in the larger social system. In addition, societal functioning became more complex, requiring a higher level of social skills. For these combined reasons a number of once adequately functioning families began to deteriorate. These are the families we now refer to as an underclass. A disproportionate number of such families are black. But past exclusion from political, economic and social ties, contacts and knowledge in the mainstream of the society has contributed to underachievement today even among the stable segment of the community.

Again, these documented facts are not known to most leaders, the general public, and most particularly, our young. As a result, during this period of rapid adjustment to the massive changes taking place in our national economy, the traditional racial scapegoating is recurring as a product of our uncertainty and anxiety--despite recent and continued attitudinal, policy and practice gains that have been made in the race relations areas. It is a particular problem for our youth in that they did not live through the period of legal discrimination and abuse, the era of intensified struggle for civil rights, and resultant improved race relations. They have no way of understanding the black demand for just opportunities within the mainstream of the society, or the conditions that exist because of the denial of such opportunities in the past. Even worse, our national leadership has not attempted to provide understanding or to establish programs that will address race relations problems. Too many leaders have exploited the fear and lack of knowledge to play groups against each other for political, economic and social gain. This model of national leadership--projected widely by mass media--contributes greatly to the racial tension we are concerned about today.

To address the problem, several approaches are needed.

1) First, it is necessary to develop the family and social policies that will see our nation through the massive economic adjustments that are being made, and thereby reduce the underlying anxiety and fear.

2) It is necessary to provide all Americans with the knowledge base necessary to understand past race relations problems and current opportunities.

3) A national program is needed to compensate for the adverse conditions of the past. The public schools should be a major focus. Our work at the Yale Child Study Center--in collaboration with the New Haven School System--indicates that projects can be devised to give low income black children the skills necessary to function adequately in today's complex world. A massive effort of the level of the Marshall Plan used to rebuild Europe after World War II would reduce our social problems and racial tensions.

James P. Comer, M.D.
Maurice Falk Professor of
 Child Psychiatry
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Chairman **Miller**. My thanks to all members of the panel. It would appear on the, certainly on the surface, that even the fact of this hearing is a little bit out of synch with where the nation thinks it is in terms of its relationships between minority communities, ethnic communities, and the white community.

In a sense, probably but for Forsyth County and Howard Beach, both of which occupied significant time slots on the nightly news, the nation would not assume that it had a serious racial problem at this time.

Do you think that that's accurate? Do you think there's greater awareness than that?

Dr. **Comer**. No, I do not think there is great awareness of the severity of today's racial problem. I think that it's much, much more severe than anybody realizes. The fact that the largest population growth or increase will be in the most disadvantaged children across the board for all minorities, and the fact that most of that group will underachieve a generation from now, means that our problem will intensify very, very greatly and very, very rapidly. We're simply looking at a problem that exists now and we feel that it's difficult. I think, down the line, it's going to get much worse very quickly.

Mr. **Kelley**. Just to comment about the schools. My experience in the schools is that kids are always aware of racial tension, all kids are. If they go to school with another race, they know there's tension. They might not be able to explain it in the context that we're trying to explain it.

But it seems to me that in the schools—our test tube of race relations—awareness of racial tension happens whether you want it to or not. Maybe kids forget about it when they get out into the real world. But, at least in California, when at least half of the kids right now (and pretty soon it's going to be close to three-quarters) are kids who feel oppressed racially, it's going to be, to my mind, in people's heads.

Mr. **Orfield**. I'd like to just say a word about this, too. One of the things is that if you look at public opinion polls you'll find out that almost everybody has put this off the agenda of important political issues. The last time it appeared as a major issue in the Gallup polls was in 1967. Right now only about one percent of people say this is a very important issue in the United States.

Most white Americans believe racial problems have been solved and the civil-rights laws solved them. On Martin Luther King Day they talk about how we used to have racial problems. And I think that this is a tremendously powerful denial of a very rapidly worsening crisis. Dealing with that as a political issue is an extreme challenge.

What we're seeing now is, I think, a surfacing of a lot of attention to a lot of symptoms like the drop-out rate, like teenage pregnancy, like these racial incidents that we're seeing and that you talked about, the ones that we're seeing in housing in other areas around the country, and the lack of access to higher education.

Nobody really wants to talk about the systemic causes of these things and the issues that we haven't addressed yet. I think it's a very, very big challenge to political leadership to begin to focus on the relationship between the symptoms and the causes and with the denial of the fact that we have a racial problem in the country.

Chairman MILLER. Well, if I look at it through somewhat sophisticated political eyes, and if I'm hearing you correctly, you're telling me that I've essentially got a time bomb ticking. Because if you're telling me that the minority children that are doing well in school today are essentially because of an effort that was made in 1967, I've been in Congress for 13 years and I've watched us dramatically reduce, in both Democratic administrations and Republican administrations, compensatory education efforts, whatever program. I watched Chapter I go from a concentrated program to other schools deciding well, gee, there's a little bit of money there, so we ought to change the nature of the concentration so that we can all share in the pot, to what has happened in the last four years.

And you're telling me that in the United States tomorrow, if you will, the population that is now in elementary and secondary education, especially elementary education, leaves high school, this population, will have little, little opportunity apparently of going on to a meaningful college education or job opportunity, and that we're going to have very serious problems.

I don't know how a nation would hold in that kind of pressure, if your picture with adolescents and these racial tensions is accurate, especially in a state that looks something like California; probably looks something like Illinois with a large Hispanic population, and New York, New Jersey and elsewhere, Florida, Texas, you're talking about the biggest states in the Union now dramatically changing in the makeup of its population, and almost half of that population will have little opportunity for educational attainment.

I just don't know if that's accurate because, politically, I can think of a lot of problems down the road.

Dr. COMER. I think the problem is every bit as serious as we described it. Maybe we've been conservative. To make matters worse, schools are the place where we can make a difference as a society. The problem, however, is that the schools are focused on academics and not on relationships.

Not to criticize teachers and administrators, because they weren't trained to address the problems, but in most schools teachers and administrators are only capable of dealing with the academic program and, in many cases, even that's marginal.

But the structure and the management of the school is something that they are not prepared to deal with. Most school teachers administrators have had almost no training in child development, almost no training in mental-health relationship skills, and really don't have the capacity to deal with the kinds of issues that come up when people of different groups and races are brought together.

There has been almost no effort to provide them with those skills. All of the recent efforts to address excellence in education, all of the recent reports, deal with teaching and learning, cognitive development, and almost none with relationship issues and child-development issues.

Mr. **Orfield**. Let me try and capsulize what's happening. We've been studying in the Chicago metro area for several years and we find in the great majority of the minority students—and very few of the whites are in the Chicago public schools, like three-quarters of the minority students and about one-sixteenth or less of the whites—most of the minority students are in highly segregated schools.

The drop-out rate is something like 35 to 40 percent for black and Hispanic females and 55 to 60 percent for black and Hispanic teenage males. On top of the drop-out rate, the number of those who go to college has been declining. It began to decline in 1975, and it's declining very rapidly under the policies that have been adopted in the 1980s. It's going to decline further under the increasing entrance requirements that are being put in in many of our major universities as part of the excellence movement. And increasing high school graduation requirements have also been imposed with no resources to deal with them.

Of those who go to college, a diminishing number are graduating in the 1980s, and they're increasingly concentrated in the least selective colleges in our area.

Of those who don't go to college and don't finish high school, there's almost no job training opportunity. The resources for job training have been cut by 75 percent in real dollars in the Chicago area under the JTPA legislation. That legislation is forcing people to train very short term and to exclude people who have serious problems from the training system because of the placement requirements and the low amount of money.

So there's almost no remedial training in the job training system. We have a situation where at least half of the young minority people in our city are just being written off as completely irrelevant to the economy, in an economy where a much larger share of the labor force in the next generation is going to have to come from that group.

I think when we look back at this period, we'll think that this was crazy and it is crazy. We really have to begin to focus serious attention on these things.

Chairman **Miller**. If I might ask one other question. When I was in high school, we were witnessing major urban unrest—in California, where it was the Watts riots, and Newark or Washington, D.C. or elsewhere.

What is different now about the attitudes in the minority community and black community? Your testimony would lead me to conclude that there is a very high level of anger and frustration within these communities. And yet I think the popular perception would be that there's more contentment; there's less activism. Or perhaps a white community in a white political system is not listening or does not hear.

But there's a perception that is clearly different than in the sixties and the seventies in terms of the response. The claim being asked by the minority communities in terms of their claim on this society is not coherent or is not as forceful as it was then or it was in the past.

What's the separation there? What's fact and what's fiction?

Dr. COMER. First of all, the anger is still there, and very much there.

Chairman MILLER. Greater?

Dr. COMER. Greater to some extent than in the past.

Chairman MILLER. Different?

Dr. COMER. Different. And different in its expression. It's being turned in: Crime against the self, crime against one's own and others in the neighborhood; violence against the self or one's own family, family members, neighborhood members; drugs, alcohol abuse. A number of those problems are really a result of the anger being turned in against the self and against one's own group.

But also the—I think the——

Chairman MILLER. Does that make the white community feel safer?

Dr. COMER. I think it makes some feel safer, I think it does make some feel safer, but it really shouldn't because when the violence and anger is there, it spills over. And we may still see some overt expression of violence, and we see it from time to time when trigger incidents set off small riots and so on in various parts of the country.

We may still see much of that, but also you have the problem that many black youth are depressed and unable to respond, which is worse than the overt expression of violence; much more troublesome in the long run, much more detrimental to the children of the black youth involved. So the anger is still there and the problem is still there.

The other thing is that many people are or have been trying to address the issue and simply are not being heard. It is very, very difficult for black scholars, for example, to make the kinds of points that are necessary for people to hear, and publications ignore many of the kinds of problems that are being described.

The media, again, the media very often ignores the kinds of problems that need to be heard. It is something they feel that the public does not want to hear. Writers are told that you don't want to write a story that describes black problems because it's a downer, and that you have to have an upper in order to sell books.

So many people are attempting to point out the nature of the problem, but that problem is not being heard because the media will not project it as it actually exists.

Chairman MILLER. Anyone else?

Mr. KELLEY. I'd like to make a comment about that. I'm a journalist, so I'm a little nervous about attacks on the media because I think, in fact, there is a lot of reporting going on about these issues. The problem is that people do not respond. The information might be there, but the emotional trigger to attract the "white audience" is somehow not happening.

A couple of comments about California. The level of anger is a very good question. In California it's a very difficult one to deal with because so many of the minority youth are immigrants or are from an immigrant heritage, Hispanic and Asian. There's sort of a dual thing going on which is, one, the strivings of an immigrant to make it in America, which is an incredibly powerful impulse and drive directed by families, directed by the society, directed by the active immigration itself; and then there's the rebuffs that come in the schools, which come in the economy.

And I think, at least as a journalist doing interviews over the last few years with young workers in California, young immigrant workers, there is a real confusion about how militant to be, and a real inability to express the anger because of the immigrant status and because of the drive to make it no matter what the barriers are, which is the old immigrant story.

So, I find it hard to imagine a riot in immigrant communities or in Chicano or Asian communities in California. But what I almost worry about more is the sort of deep-seated resentment and anger against society that gets played out over generations. That if you talk to a Chinese immigrant who's in his sixties or seventies or eighties, or a Mexican immigrant in his sixties, seventies or eighties, that's a person who can tell you sixty, or seventy or eighty years of stories about how America has kept him and his family down.

That kind of pervasive sort of resentment against the country is deep seated and a very negative thing that might not lead to violence, but it leads to a whole bunch of other things which we can talk about.

Chairman **Miller**. Mr. Kelley, let me ask you something. Again, I'm ascribing perceptions to other people, but what you're telling us in your preliminary work in California Tomorrow, I think that we would say we would expect some of those feelings, that segregation and so forth in the Los Angeles community; but we would not expect that in the San Francisco Bay Area either because of the long-term Asian population and what the perception of the San Francisco area is.

Is there a great deal of difference between the two?

Mr. **Kelley**. I would say no. The San Francisco area has received a tremendous amount of immigration from the Philippines, from Central America, and from Guatemala. The percentage of immigrants in San Francisco schools is 30 percent, and the percentage of limited English proficient in San Francisco schools is 30 percent, which is higher than the L.A. area.

Chairman **Miller**. But in terms of the attitudes—it's the same?

Mr. **Kelley**. It's all the same. And in the valley as well. The Hmong children in Fresno are sort of overrunning the schools. The Hmong children that we have interviewed—though it's very hard to get translators, we've been able to find them—are saying all the same things. They're getting abused on campuses and they don't feel comfortable, and they're not being made to feel comfortable.

One other point that I wanted to make, which is that in the schools the teachers make such a huge difference. Yet California, which I expect is very similar to the rest of the nation, has yet to incorporate any sort of multicultural education within the credentialing of teachers. Take Fresno, which is a very multicultural place. People don't know that blacks live in Fresno. It's 10 to 15 percent black, 20 to 30 percent Hispanic, 10 percent Asian, and the teachers are 80 to 90 percent white. The new teachers coming out of Fresno State, which is a credentialing school, literally walk out into campuses—they've come from all white schools, they've been with white people all their lives—and they walk and the first place they're placed is a minority school. And they don't know what to make of it.

I've talked to some teachers about it and they're just blown away. This is not what they thought teaching was. They thought they were going to be teaching white kids, and suddenly they're thrown in with a bunch of people they don't understand and they get very frustrated.

So I think the incorporation in the credentialing process of multicultural education, whatever you want to call it, is a very important policy, a thing that needs to happen. It's a state matter, but I think it's worth mentioning.

Mr. ORFIELD. This is one of the things that was funded with the Emergency School Aid Act, the desegregation assistance funds that were eliminated. The national teachers accreditation organization is going away from a requirement for multicultural education as part of accreditation now.

Many of the states, including California, have adopted entrance requirements for teacher training institutions and testing requirements for entering into the profession that are going to mean fewer minorities coming in. We're already seeing a very rapid drop in minorities coming into teaching in some of the southern states where this was done a little earlier.

So we have adopted a lot of policies that really don't show any understanding of these needs.

Chairman MILLER. Let me just interrupt you, because I don't know when this is going to happen, but apparently in a short time we're going to hear some fire alarms. In the world that worries about liability, I am told that this is going to be a drill only. You're all welcome to stay here. I'll be leaving. [Laughter.] I don't quite know when that is going to take place, but should it take place. That's apparently what's going on.

Let me ask you something else about what's going on. What's going on in white America? You know, in the current Iran-scandal situation, there was a tremendous amount of reporting on all of these activities over the last year, year and a half, in various periodicals. You read various accounts suggesting that these different actions were being taken by different countries and personnel in the administration, but nobody was listening, nobody was hearing, and certainly the networks weren't picking it up. They were not commenting on what The Nation wrote or what some small periodical wrote. But now when we go back and we patch the stories together, clearly it was there in the press.

The same is really going on in the press today. If you read a wide enough spectrum of print media, it's there today, but it's certainly not being heard, in my opinion.

I'm just wondering, what's going on in white society in terms of our view of what's taking place between the races and the plight of minority America? Are we just simply turning it off, or is white America confronted also with the set of challenges which require kind of a narrowing of the focus here?

Mr. KELLEY. The organization that I work with is called California Tomorrow, which is basically an effort in California to get the major institutions and media organizations and the white power structure to recognize that whites are going to be a minority in

California within about 20 years, and to say, okay, what does that mean to the future of California? What we gather when we go around and talk to people is that, number one, there is a tremendous amount of information about the demographics of California as well as the U.S. That kind of information leads to things like immigration bills, which is a reaction from the gut to say, let's hold this demographic ship down. It's a subtle and curious coming to awareness, but not knowing exactly how to act or how to react. There is little of what we consider at California Tomorrow to be the natural and best reaction, which is: okay, we've got this state called California, it's got all these people in it, let's make it the best state we possibly can; let's turn diversity into a positive thing. There isn't that. That is not an instinct.

What the instinct is is somewhere between total repression of the facts and concern, but not a real policy agenda on what to do. That's very vague, but I think it's a hard subject to pin down.

Chairman **Miller**. You know, I get the notion when I'm in my district or in other parts of California that most people's awareness of the changing demographics comes in the Safeway store, where all of a sudden they find out they can buy Thai seasoning or Vietnamese food, or one whole aisle now is given to ethnic foods and they go "hmmm". But I don't get any great sense that people generally are tuned in.

Now, I represent essentially a suburban district, but with about the same characteristics of Fresno, maybe, in terms of ethnic population. This is all going on in the state, other than perhaps some notion that L.A. certainly has a problem down there, that that's happening. You're suggesting that's probably accurate, that there isn't—

Mr. **Kelley**. Yes. If there is awareness, it's somewhat repressed.

Mr. **Orfield**. I think we're at a stage where a lot of leaders and people who run institutions are beginning to understand this and are beginning to sense that they're going to have to adapt their institutions, and so forth.

But it really hasn't percolated down very far and there's another set of problems we really should mention. There are some real problems in white working class communities that have been exacerbated tremendously. So the whites who are nearest to the growing minority population not only don't want to deal with the issues of minority inequality, but are themselves extremely vulnerable to some of the changes in the economy.

We see this in Chicago with the collapse of industrial employment. Many of our white working class neighborhoods are just producing tremendous social pressures. We have a very high drop out rate for those whites who are left in the city. It's around 30 percent. We have a decreasing access to college for the white children who are left in the city of Chicago. There's much less chance that a lot of those white working-class kids are ever going to own a house.

We have serious problems relating to the collapse of the industrial economy, the breaking of unions, and a lot of other things that have been going on that tend to produce a lot of tension right along the lines of racial change and right between those communities.

Dr. **Comer**. I agree with that very much, and I think we simply haven't had the leadership that we need at every level, but certainly at the national level with the present administration, to provide the kind of understanding, the kind of direction setting that is important.

We've been asked to go back to a good óle time (that never existed before) and to wave the flag and to stop talking about bad things about America. I think that that America is one of the best countries in the world, but we have a very serious problem. And we have a set of problems that are getting worse. To simply say let's go back and be more patriotic is not going to solve that set of problems.

I also happen to think that the media—the problem with the media is really very subtle, but it's critical. The media has to realize that it, too, is a part of the problem. While I agree that they do some important things, they fail in many ways. I just want to give a couple of little examples that show that the media itself has a problem.

The media, without being fully aware of it, very often is acting from an immigrant adjustment understanding of the problems in this country. And so it very often is, without being aware of it, in its selection of articles and the way it presents, saying that minority groups have to help themselves just like everybody else did who made it in this country.

Their selections of stories and the way they present them do this. I made a presentation in California where I outlined the economic situation of black people and how it differed from that of other people. And a San Francisco newspaper, one of the reporters said that the audience—a number of the audience—disagreed with me. That was not true. The majority of the audience very enthusiastically supported my position.

A story that was about how minorities must help themselves, which everybody agrees, was the story that was given, the headline statement, because the writer wanted that point to get across. I wrote to him and pointed this out and he agreed that he had made a mistake.

The second thing, a local newspaper sponsored a special dinner at which football all-Americans were honored. On the next day academic all-Americans were recognized in a news story and two white academic all-Americans had a full page story of their performance. They forgot there were three. One was a black academic all-American. He was ignored entirely. When I pointed that out to them, they gave all kinds of excuses, but never reported that he was an academic all-American.

Many stories focus on black young people who are not doing well in school, who are involved in crime, all kinds of things, but ignore the positive because they are trying to blame the problem on black Americans for not making it themselves. They are not looking at the way the history was different, the conditions are different, and that the approaches necessary in this day and age are different.

If we continue to work like that, pretending that blacks are a separate group, independent of the rest of the community, and work against black America, then we're going to end up poisoning the body politic.

Chairman **Miller**. Well, let me thank you——

Mr. **Kelley**. May I make one comment about white folks?

Chairman MILLER. Yes. Excuse me.

Mr. KELLEY. The interesting thing, I think, about racism in this country is that whites don't have a race in the modern perception. Everybody else has a race. Whites are the standard, the normal, then everybody else has to meet the standard.

A lot of the media problem is related to that general viewpoint—that this is a white country and white is normal and white is the standard and everybody else is different. That's a very profound and hard-to-deal-with reality of America, but just to point that very fact out in a curriculum in California's schools would open a lot of eyes, I think, and help kids deal with the reality of growing up non-white in America.

So I think a lot can be done in the schools, and we spend a lot of money on the schools in this country and they are our only real public policy lever in this area, or a major one. So the schools are more than just an academic place, but also a place where relationships need to be stressed over and over.

Chairman MILLER. Well, I want to thank you, but I have to say that I think I find your collective testimony somewhat alarming, certainly depressing, and certainly frightening. Because as I sit in the Congress, and I sit on the Budget Committee, we've just essentially approved a budget that is clearly different than the President's and puts money into some of the areas that we clearly are talking about in greater amounts than the President would, and there is a dramatic difference, but it still appears as disinvestment.

We are clearly backing out of our obligations at the Federal level. And in that sense I guess I'd have to say that there's a difference between this administration and what my party is doing. But essentially I still think my party is—you know, I always thought the theme song for the last few years should be from Annie—you know, Tomorrow. And if we can just get the White House, then tomorrow we'd be good guys.

When I look and see what the numbers are and what's happening in colleges in terms of minority enrollment and what the cost of those colleges are, and what's happening in terms of Pell grants and what's happening in the educational programs to prepare young people to go to college, I suspect what in fact we're doing is fueling this problem rather than changing it.

I'm trying to think of when the time will come when you head back the other way. Now, I'm an optimist. I think in a lot of things that we've been able to do in the Budget Committee in terms of what we call the Children's Initiatives and the educational initiatives are terribly important. But in light of what you have described here, they're the proverbial drop in the bucket—what your testimony collectively suggests is a trend, and almost a permanent state within the minority community.

There is nothing that I see that's going on at the national level that would have anything but a minimal impact on that trend. And that's assuming that there will be an end to the Reagan era. And I don't know if essentially that's true. We may change presidents, but I don't know if we will change an attitude about what are the obligations of the Federal Government.

We're having a fight in the state of California over whether or not we should invest in schools or disinvest in schools. I mean, this is supposedly a progressive state and now we're locked into a struggle on a minimal effort at restoring the level of educational dollars in that state. And that goes on and on and on and on.

But I think what you bring to the debate is perhaps a little bit of a window for policymakers. And what I hope this committee can bring back to the Congress is a little bit of a window to suggest that we have a good portion of this country that is, in fact, seething. And if it takes an event—you know, the Congress is essentially a reactive body. We have had few original thoughts in our entire 200 years, but we're pretty good at reacting.

We can put out an immigration bill to close off, or we can put up trade barriers to protect us, we can establish all kinds of barriers in reaction to whatever the problem is. But we're not very good at initiating.

What we do know is that we're best after we've had some kind of cataclysmic event, and then we run around like mice and are about as productive. But my fear is we have to wait for that event; we have to wait for a Newark or a Watts, or we have to wait for a Howard Beach or a Forsyth County to start to move. But at that point when you start to move you're going to be decades behind seemingly where you should be.

I want to thank you very much. I will try to make every effort to share your testimony and the next panel's testimony with other members of Congress because, unlike the fire alarms that I guess we'll hear at some point here, I suspect the fire is going on, but nobody has sounded the alarm in the national political body.

I think as I view most people who aspire to the White House, they would just as soon this discussion not be brought to their attention or that they be drawn into it, absent, obviously the Reverend Jackson. There seems to be no other person aspiring to the White House who really is seeking to engage this country in this debate.

Thank you very much.

The next panel will be comprised of the Honorable Frederick Hurst, who is the Commissioner of the Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination; Dr. Margaret Beale Spencer who is an Associate Professor of Developmental and Educational Psychology in the Division of Educational Studies at Emory University; Dr. Lillian Comas-Diaz, who is the Co-Director of the Transcultural Mental Health Institute in Washington, D.C.; and Renato L. De Maria, who is the principal of New Dorp High School in Staten Island.

Welcome to the committee. Again, your written statements will be placed in the record in their entirety. To the extent that you wish to summarize them, feel free to do so. And we'll start with Mr. Hurst.

STATEMENT OF FREDERICK HURST, COMMISSIONER, MASSACHUSETTS COMMISSION AGAINST DISCRIMINATION

Mr. Hurst. Let me say that it's an honor to testify before this House of Representatives Select Committee on Children, Youth and Families about my experience investigating the October 27, 1986 racial incident that occurred on the campus of the University of Massachusetts.

Let there be no mistake. The incident was racial. What started out as opposing fans drinking and watching the final game of a Boston Red Sox-New York Mets world series game, ended up in a drunken attack by hundreds of white students on 20 to 30 black students, who, ironically, were both Sox and Mets fans.

Somehow, in their frustration at losing, young Sox fans altogether too easily converted their feelings into a racial context in a time when many had come to believe that such primitive expressions of racial sentiments had been curtailed by the civil rights struggles of the sixties and seventies.

Now, my investigation of the incident revealed that it could have been predicted and prevented had university administrators simply heeded obvious signals.

It was common knowledge that UMASS students considered the Boston team a white team and the Mets team a black team. After each of the previous six series games, crowds of drunken students had gathered at the same site and exhibited violent behavior. Yet, no one in a position of significant authority was in the area or on campus on that final night. And, as on previous nights, security for all students was left to those drunken white students and an understaffed and ill-prepared security force that could not have handled the crowd if it had tried.

The probabilities, it is my feeling, were predictable. What was a bad situation for white students was predictably a far worse situation for black students. And to complicate matters, many of the white students involved were from ethnic Boston neighborhoods in which antipathy to affirmative action, busing and integrated housing is rife.

A reasonable inference derived from comments made by some of these students is that the negative stereotypes of minority students, especially black students, taught and reinforced in white homes, were carried to the UMASS campus. My investigation revealed that these young white students possessed little knowledge of the civil rights struggles of the recent past and tended to be causual about expressing their negative sentiments in the form of racial graffiti and jokes, racial epithets and physical racial attacks.

It should come as no surprise that these white students with such racial predispositions conveniently transferred their pentup rage at the victorious New York Mets to black students.

To make matters worse, administrators had historically denied the existence of a racial element in incidents of a similar nature. To a great extent that denial accounted for both the failure to predict and to prevent the incident and for the mishandling of the post-incident investigation which was characterized by a refusal to accept a racial motive and a related failure to apprehend and punish the perpetrators, even though they had violated normal criminal statutes as well as state criminal civil rights statutes.

It's also significant that black students, faculty and staff expressed bitterness and discontent at what they perceived as a declining commitment on the part of the university administrators to continue programs to expand minority involvement at all levels of university life.

I think there are some important lessons to be learned from the UMASS incident. First, and I think most important, denial is the most subtle form of racism because it tolerates it.

Second, when people in positions of authority and influence, such as university administrators and family members, deny racism's existence and denigrate legitimate efforts to eliminate or soften its effects on minorities, the result is that racial problems in our society are passed on to the young who are least prepared to cope with it.

Third, when we do not provide youngsters with a historical context within which to process race issues, then we deny them the most important tools and we should not be surprised when history begins to repeat itself.

Fourth, schools, especially universities, should be places, not merely of tolerance, but of enlightenment. Evidence across the country suggesting that they are becoming places where racial intolerance festers and explodes should be a forewarning to all of us of bigger problems in the society as a whole and of much bigger explosions.

Fifth, when a racial incident occurs, it should be quickly demonstrated by those in positions of authority that the perpetrators will be severely punished and that future incidents will be similarly handled.

I might point out that in the UMASS situation, after it was over, one student was apprehended and punished and accused actually of a misdemeanor and punished. Since my investigation, I just heard yesterday that the district attorney has conducted a special investigation and has now found six more white students who have been deeply involved in that whole matter and complaints are being issued against them, as I had recommended.

It is important, I think, to emphasize that we are in a period in which not-so-well meaning people capitalize on the tempo of the times to revive racial hatred and to proselytize. They encourage pliable minds to view positive programs to remedy the effects of past race discrimination as preferential treatment, and to view affirmative action programs in recruitment, retention, employment and programming as threats to white career progress.

It does not help matters when university administrators reinforce such notions by allowing the erosion of existing programs. Young minds are especially vulnerable and too easily confused. I think it's probably true that the negative rhetoric and overt action of the current administration has contributed substantially to that confusion.

The blessing I think in it all is a persistent press that will not allow us to be blinded by the fact that racial incidents occurring in and outside of our universities are omens of past ills that this country can do better without.

I urge this committee to heed the signs and, likewise, to join the army of resistance against this cancer before it destroys the work of so many who sincerely believe in a harmonious, multicultural society.

Thank you.

Chairman MILLER. Thank you. Dr. Spencer?

[Prepared statement of Frederick Hurst follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. FREDERICK HURST, COMMISSIONER, MASSACHUSETTS COMMISSION AGAINST DISCRIMINATION, SPRINGFIELD, MA

It is my honor to testify before this House of Representatives Select Committee on Children, Youth and Family about my experience investigating the October 27, 1986 racial incident that occurred on the Amherst campus of the University of Massachusetts.

Let there be no mistake. The incident was racial. What started out as opposing fans drinking and watching the final game of the Boston Red Sox-New York Mets World Series ended up in a drunken attack by hundreds of white students on twenty to thirty black students, who, ironically, were both Sox and Mets fans.

Somehow, in their frustration at losing, young Sox fans altogether too easily converted their feelings into a racial context in a time when many had come to believe that such primitive expressions of racial sentiments had been curtailed by the Civil Rights struggles of the 1960's and '70's.

My investigation of the incident revealed that it could have been predicted and prevented had university administrators simply heeded obvious signals.

It was common knowledge that UMASS students considered the Boston team a white team and the Mets team a black team. After each of the previous six Series games crowds of drunken students had gathered at the same site and exhibited violent behavior. Yet no one in a position of significant authority was in the area or on campus on that final night and, as on previous nights, security for all students was left to those drunken white students and an understaffed ill-prepared security force that could not have handled the crowd if it had tried. The probabilities were predictable. What was a bad situation for white students was, predictably, a far worse situation for black students.

To complicate matters, many of the white students involved were from ethnic Boston neighborhoods in which antipathy to affirmative action, busing and integrated housing is rife. A reasonable inference derived from comments made by some of these students is that negative stereotypes of minority students--especially black students--taught and reinforced in white homes were carried to the UMASS campus. My investigation revealed that these young white students possessed little knowledge of civil rights struggles of the recent past and tended to be casual about expressing their negative racial sentiments in the form of racial graffiti and jokes, racial epithets and physical racial attacks.

It should come as no surprise that these white students with such racial predispositions conveniently transferred their pent-up rage at the victorious New York Mets to black students.

To make matters worse, administrators had historically denied the existence of a racial element in incidents of a similar nature. To a great extent that denial accounted for both the failure to predict and prevent the incident and for the mishandling of the post-incident investigation, which was characterized by a refusal to accept a racial motive and a related failure to apprehend and punish the perpetrators, even though they had violated normal criminal statutes as well as state criminal civil rights statutes.

It is also significant that black students, faculty and staff expressed bitterness and discontent at what they perceived as a declining commitment on the part of university administrators to continue programs to expand minority involvement at all levels of university life.

There are some important lessons to be learned from the UMASS incident.

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Second, when people in positions of authority and influence such as university administrators and family members deny racism's existence and denigrate legitimate efforts to eliminate or soften its effects on minorities, the result is that racial problems in our society are passed on to the young who are least prepared to cope with them.

Third, when we do not provide youngsters with a historical context within which to process race issues, then we deny them the most important tools and we should not be surprised when history begins to repeat itself.

Fourth, schools, especially universities, should be places--not merely of tolerance--but of enlightenment. Evidence across the country suggesting that they are becoming places where racial intolerance festers and explodes should be a forewarning to all of us of bigger problems in the society as a whole and of much bigger explosions.

Fifth, When a racial incident occurs it should be quickly demonstrated by those in positions of authority that the perpetrators will be severely punished and that future incidents will be similarly handled.

It is important to emphasize that we are in a period in which not so well meaning people capitalize on the tempo of the times to revive racial hatred and to proselytize. They encourage pliable minds to view positive programs to remedy the effects of past race discrimination as preferential treatment and to view affirmative action programs in recruitment, retention, employment and programming as threats to white career progress. It does not help matters when university administrators reinforce such notions by allowing the erosion of existing programs. Young minds are especially vulnerable and too easily confused. It is probably true that the negative rhetoric and overt action of the current administration has contributed to the confusion.

The blessing in it all is a persistent press that will not allow us to be blinded by the fact that racial incidents occurring in and outside of our universities are omens of past ills that this country can do better without. I urge you to heed the signs and, likewise, to join the army of resistance against this cancer before it destroys the work of so many who sincerely believe in a harmonious, multi-cultural society.

STATEMENT OF MARGARET BEALE SPENCER, ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF DEVELOPMENTAL AND EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY IN THE DIVISION OF EDUCATIONAL STUDIES, EMORY UNIVERSITY

Ms. SPENCER. I'm very pleased to be here. My task is to discuss the events in Georgia. I was aware of the Forsyth County, Georgia march and participated in the second march with my own adolescent daughters. The Forsyth County march must be viewed as a necessary and symbolic statement to reaffirm that blacks must be supported and should experience, in fact, the same constitutional rights afforded all Americans.

The fact that there was a need for a march in 1987 should not be isolated to events in Georgia. There are Forsyth County-like conclaves all over America, and this nation's black children are aware of its effects as early as age two or two-and-a-half or three.

The march provided a vivid, concrete image or symbol of subtle and overt conditions of racism and economic oppression. The conditions are entrenched and nurtured as institutional or structural practices currently flourishing throughout America with no indication, in fact, of change in sight.

Infrequently addressed by the behavioral science community has been the impact of these practices on the adaptations made by black children and youth. However, as one intervention approach, it would appear prudent to look at the developmental or life-course function of racism for white youth, and the implications for a global intolerance of differences.

It seems critical to understand the various adaptations made by black children to institutionalized states of risk. The Missing and Murdered Youth Crisis of Atlanta allowed an empirical examination of black youth focused environmental risk conditions. Of late, there have been more frequent discussions concerning an "at-risk status". Examples include abducted children, exploited children, "in-family" psychologically damaged kids, homeless kids, et cetera. Risk is defined as the impoverishing of a child's world of the basic social and psychological necessities of life. Both blacks and whites in the United States commonly encounter stressors like the loss of a loved one, getting married, sickness and other similar type stresses.

However, blacks must also handle the ongoing life-course stress of anti-black prejudice. Obtained in three different regions, in fact, our research indicates that black children are aware of their status as a group as early as age three.

However, the impact on the psyche does not seem to occur until closer to age six when the child's thinking is also shifting in a very complex way to make the implications of racial knowledge more clear, both in terms of self and the whole issue of risk.

As indicated by the following quotes, the black children of Atlanta experienced acute trauma and a state of risk for a two-and-a half year period. The quotes were made by children who were attending one of the schools where NIMH sponsored research to be reported today was conducted. Many of the children lived in areas where bodies were found and weekend searches conducted.

I quote, "I wasn't scared for myself. I just feel kinda sorry for all them little children that was killed. I wasn't scared 'cause when I be outside I be with a lot of people. When the people start going in the house, I go in the house."

Another child, "I be scared to go to sleep by myself. I be scared 'cause I didn't have nothing with me . . . like a gun."

Another child, "My mama was so nervous she burned everything she cooked . . . I ain't had no decent supper until that Wayne Williams case got off. She'd go in there to cook and the news would come on and the next thing you know the frying pan was burning."

Another child, "I was so scared I couldn't help it. I stayed in the house all the time. I slept downstairs. I wouldn't be by myself. I was scared to look at the news on TV. I felt unhappy because it was mostly boys being killed and I'm a boy."

In terms of these specific experiences, undoubtedly, the impact on children and families was obvious. However, I think that James Baldwin, the literary genius, made a nice comment concerning the impact of racism not only on children, but also on the fathers and their ability to perform the male role and vice versa. He made a quote that said something like, "Something happens to the father when he knows he can do nothing about it [that is, racism] and further, given uncontrollable conditions, he can't protect his own. But something also happens to the son." The findings that I will report today for black children and youth suggest reactions to ongoing conditions of race-related stress. In our research we used multiple measures on nearly 400 black male and female children three years before the Atlanta crisis. At that time the children were between 3 and 9 years of age.

Towards the end of the acute period of the Atlanta crisis, 150 of the original children were relocated, tested again and interviewed. Parents were also interviewed and completed a checklist which related to behavioral symptoms and competence. In addition, parents in four distant cities from Atlanta and the crisis also completed the checklist on their own children. That is, we used children and parents; parents reported on their own children in Nashville, Chicago, Philadelphia and Washington, D.C. We wanted to see, in essence, if kids in Atlanta really experienced more stress as a function of this ongoing crisis.

I'll present our findings in three parts; data which were obtained before the crisis, data that were obtained after the crisis for the Atlanta sample, and also comparatively between the cities and Atlanta.

The first result: The findings supported two earlier studies conducted in different regions of the country, although the findings were the same. Children, black children, as young as three years of age are well versed about the evaluation of the colors white and black along with black and white persons. That is, kids who are as young as three know that they're devalued as a group; they are as well versed about these ideas as are five year olds.

This is important because these data replicate findings obtained by Kenneth and Mamie Clark almost 50 years ago that were footnoted in the judicial opinion in the "Brown v. Board of Education" decision.

The second finding: The good news is that—in terms of these values, and we call these specific opinions made by the child cultural values—when children are very young these cultural values do not impact their self esteem. When children are very young, that is preschool aged children, they can keep very separate their knowledge about the world—that is, that blacks are devalued, that the color black is to be feared and that whites are valued—but they don't integrate that knowledge with their own developing self esteem.

So the good news is that when kids are very young they can keep separate those views that are learned about the group and their own feeling of efficacy or self esteem. However, the news is not as positive for older children by the time they reach primary grades.

For our third finding, then, primary grade pupils who perform best on intellectual competence or achievement-related tasks are those children who show both a positive personal regard or self esteem, and also show an Afrocentered or own cultural group acceptance. That is, it's important to accept your cultural unit or group by the time you're older. We believe that this necessity has to do with, in essence, more mature levels of thinking. That when you're older and are of primary-school age, it's unavoidable that now you not only understand the biases, but you understand what they mean for yourself. And therefore they have consequences in terms of how kids perform in academic arenas.

Our fourth finding, only one-third of our sample parents who we interviewed during the precrisis period indicated that racism and discrimination were issues in the rearing of black children.

This is an important point relative to Mr. Hurst's comments. In fact, 33 percent of our parents indicated there was no discussion of race unless the child asked specific questions. In fact, 50 percent noted that teaching children about race is unimportant, and 47 percent indicated no discussion of civil rights.

The data clearly indicate a black parental belief or hope that the 1960s had in fact solved the nation's ills.

The fifth finding: Children who expressed—independent of age group—or who demonstrated greater cultural identification before the crisis showed significantly fewer clinical symptoms after the crisis. And I'll move right into the post-crisis findings for the Atlanta youngsters.

Children who expressed positive regard for the group before the crisis, that is, they were more Afrocentric, performed significantly better on competence related tasks after the crisis. That is, having a good sense of who you were before kind of protected you against the severe stress assumed about the crisis.

For early-adolescent black males, an own-group orientation before the crisis was related to greater feelings of internal control after the crisis. That is, feeling that one could make an impact on the world.

Given our adolescent focus for our meeting here this morning, this is extremely important because black males in particular have the worse life-course prognosis in terms of health issues, in terms of school drop out rates, et cetera. Black males are at risk. These findings are important, then, because if the black male does not have a sense of efficacy, that they "can do," that they can plan for the future, we're talking about a negative impact for the family, the black family, but also for the entire group along with important implications for the entire country.

Almost 60 percent of our adolescents—when asked their spontaneous opinions—believe that the law would have acted differently if the youths killed had been white. That means they were very clear that whites are more valued, therefore even the law would have acted differently.

Number nine: 56 percent of our adolescents indicated their belief that the crisis was not over although the suspect had been arrested. Importantly, relative to an ongoing state of seige and stress, 96 percent of our adolescents believed that the systematic killing of black youth could happen again.

For our post-crisis findings, we made comparisons between our Atlanta youth with youth living in different cities. As I shared with you, we collected data from parents from Philadelphia, Chicago, Nashville and Washington, D.C., in addition to our Atlanta sample, in order to get a sense of how much stress and manifest incompetence we would see as a function of where they lived; we assumed that parents of kids in Atlanta would see more symptoms of stress than parents of children in other cities.

Although the quotes stated previously had been made by children living in communities most at risk, and suggested a great deal of stress, however, there were no major differences for the city versus non-city comparisons on the composite score for manifested symptoms. That is, black Atlanta children did not show significantly more symptoms than did children living in distant cities. However, socioeconomic status or social class differences were clearly apparent, and quite significant.

That is, lower-income youth, independent of city of residence, manifested more clinical symptoms than did middle-income children. In other words, being without economic resources and the associated environmental and family hardships linked to economic disadvantage is more devastating to the psyche of the children than the protracted period of stress associated with child victimization, the Atlanta child crisis.

Our implications are the following. Our findings indicated that lower-income children obtain lower self-esteem scores and locus-of-control scores. Minority lower-income children must deal with the twin issues of socioeconomic disadvantage and also caste related racism without the benefit of parental input and interpretation since most parents still hope for the promise of human and constitutional rights afforded all citizens.

Without significant parental input, then, black children must continue to confront bias, institutionalized practices, beliefs and attitudes concerning race which were symbolic of the Forsyth County march.

Older children's unavoidable understanding of the implications of racism for future options and current pursuits makes clear the statistics on black teen pregnancy, black male school drop-out rates, intraracial violence, increases in young black male suicide, and also black male incarceration rates.

Given that with increasing age there is an unavoidable understanding of racism without indications also of aggressive (national) systemic level interventions, resulting adaptations and decisions made by black youth might help to maintain mental health and beliefs about control in the short run—that is, fathering a child or gang-banging, et cetera—although such decisions have negative life-course implications for the individual, for the family, for the minority group, and certainly for society in total.

Our findings suggest that with development and more mature and sophisticated ways of understanding the world, that black youth are able to make sense of the racism-linked environmental constraints more effectively than earlier, and understand the probable negative consequences for any expectations about the self regarding future options.

It would appear that coping is promoted by parental teaching of positive cultural images and history.

For now, it must happen at home since, given text book content, it's certainly not happening in schools. School appears to be a place where black students represent a captive audience for teachers who also act on negative beliefs and stereotypes and fear. This, of course, represents a viscious cycle.

Racism is not unlike other self-abusive behaviors. For example, there is alcoholism, drug dependence, et cetera. Neither help nor change is possible unless there is an acknowledgement of it as a life-threatening problem. America must acknowledge its institutionalized problem and set about aggressively to heal itself.

At the same time there are things that the black family must do while we are confronting racism as a country. Number one, black parents must assertively socialize their children with a compensatory cultural emphasis since racism remains a problem which children unavoidably confront as a sheer consequence of having permanent color versus seasonal tans.

Acromatic thinking, or the denial of a color-based problem, may be ego saving for the parent, but it places black children and youth at great risk. Perhaps, like a diagnosed asthmatic who is aware of allergens in the environment which have the potential of producing asthmatic attacks, having the required information affords the victim the protection of preparedness.

The second thing parents can do: The parental childrearing emphasis must be cultural since people are not (racially) color blind no matter if it remained in vogue for many liberal-sounding persons to claim color blindness. Further, children must have an arsenal of cultural pride and race-relations information which potentially aids them in weathering the storm of racism in a proactive rather than a reactive manner until final system or national level interventions are completed.

Number three, childrearing efforts, generally, and parenting strategies more specifically, must reflect an emphasis on cultural issues and history since informal or covert lessons about race pride are lost in a sea of racist images and overtly experienced racism.

These baseline considerations should serve as supports for any program concerned with the survival of minority youth, children and families.

Thank you.

Chairman MILLER. Thank you. Dr. Comas-Diaz?

[Prepared statement of Margaret Spencer, Ph.D., follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF MARGARET BEALE SPENCER, PH.D., EMORY UNIVERSITY, ATLANTA, GA

Introduction

The "Forsyth County March" was viewed as a necessary and symbolic statement to establish once and for all that blacks must be granted the same constitutional rights that any other American is accorded. The fact that there was a need for a march in 1987 should not be isolated to Georgia. There are Forsyth County-like conclaves all over America and this nation's black children are aware of it at some level as early as age 2 1/2 or 3. The March provided a vivid, concrete image or symbol of subtle and overt conditions of racism and economic oppression; the conditions are entrenched and nurtured as institutional or structural practices currently flourishing throughout contemporary America with no indication of change in sight.

Infrequently addressed by the behavioral science community has been the impact of these practices on black children and youth. That is, what have been the adaptations made by black children to an institutionalized state of risk. The Missing and Murdered Youth Crisis of Atlanta allowed an empirical examination of black-youth focused environmental risk conditions. Risk is defined as the impoverishing of a child's world of the basic social and psychological necessities of life. Both blacks and whites in the United States commonly encounter stressors like loss of a loved one, getting married, sickness and others. Blacks, must also handle the ongoing life-course stress of anti-black race prejudice. Obtained in three different regions, our research indicate that black children are aware of their status as a group as early as age three. However, the impact on the psyche does not seem to occur until closer to age six when the child's thinking is also shifting in complex ways to make the implications of racial knowledge clear--in terms of the self and the issue of risk. As indicated by the following quotes, the black children of Atlanta experienced acute trauma for a 2 1/2 year period. The quotes were made by children who were attending one of the schools where the NIMH sponsored research to be reported today was conducted. Many of the children lived in areas where bodies were found and weekend searches conducted.

> I wasn't scared for myself. I just feel kinds sorry for all them little children that was killed. I wasn't scared 'cause when I be outside I be with a lot of people. When the people start going in the house, I go in the house.
>
> I be scared to go to sleep by myself. I be scared 'cause I didn't have nothing with me...like a gun.
>
> My mama was so nervous she burned everything she cooked...I ain't had no decent supper until that Wayne Williams case got off. She'd go in there to cook and the news would come on and the next thing you know the frying pan was burning.

The findings to be reported suggest reactions to ongoing conditions of race-related stress by black children and youth. Multiple measures were obtained on nearly 400 black male and female children between the ages of 3 and 9 in 1978-1979. Towards the end of the acute period of the Atlanta crisis, 150 of the original children were relocated, tested and interviewed; parents were also interviewed and completed a checklist which related to behavioral symptoms and competence. In addition, parents in four distant cities from Atlanta and the crisis also completed the checklist on their own children (i.e., Nashville, Chicago, Philadelphia and Washington, D. C.).

Findings

Precrisis Phase

(1) Results supported two earlier studies in different regions of the country. Children as young as three are as well versed about the evaluation of the colors white and black along with black and white persons as are five year olds.

(2) Children's early cultural values and attitudes are not related to their personal identity or self esteem. However, this is not the case for older children who have moved into the primary grades and more mature (socially and biologically determined) levels of cognitive processing.

(3) Primary grade pupils who perform best on intellectual or competence related tasks are children who show both positive personal regard and who show an Afrocentered or own cultural group acceptance.

(4) Only 1/3 or 36% of the sample parents interviewed during the precrisis phase indicated that racism and discrimination were issues in the rearing of black children. In fact, 33% indicated that there was no discussion of race unless the child asked specific questions. Fifty per cent noted that teaching children about race is unimportant and 47% indicated no discussion of civil rights. The data clearly indicate a black parental belief

(hope) that the 1960's had solved the nation's ills.

(5) Children, independent of age group, who demonstrated greater cultural identification before the crisis, showed significantly fewer clinical symptoms after the crisis.

Post Crisis Findings: Atlanta

(6) Children who expressed positive regard for the group before the crisis (Afrocentered responses) performed significantly better on competence related tasks after the crisis.

(7) For early adolescent black males, an own group orientation before the crisis was related to greater feelings of internal control after the crisis.

(8) Almost 60% of the adolescents believed that "the law" would have acted differently if the youths killed had been white.

(9) Fifty-six per cent of the adolescents indicated their belief that the crisis was not over although the suspect had been arrested; importantly, relative to an ongoing state of stress, 96% believed that the systematic killing of black youth could happen again.

Post Crisis Findings: City (Atlanta) versus Non-City Comparisons

As indicated, parents of the sample in Atlanta along with parents of similarly aged children in four other cities (Philadelphia, Chicago, Nashville, Washington, D. C.) completed a rating form which asked about the presence or absence of 118 clinical symptoms.

(10) Although the quotes stated previously had been made by children living in communities most at-risk and suggested a great

deal of stress, however, there were no major difference for the city vs. non-city comparisons on the composite score for manifested symptoms. That is, black Atlanta children did not show significantly more symptoms than did children living in distant cities. However socioeconomic status or social class differences were significant.

(11) Lower income (LI) children, independent of city of residence, manifested more clinical symptoms than did middle income (MI) children. In other words, being without economic resources and the associated environmental experiences of economic disadvantage is more devastating to the psyche of children than the protracted period of stress associated with the Atlanta youth crisis.

Implications

Findings indicated that LI children obtained lower self esteem and locus of control scores. Minority LI children must deal with the twin issues of socioeconomic disadvantage and caste related racism without the benefit of parental input and interpretation since most parents still hope for the promise of human and constitutional rights afforded all citizens. Without significant parental input, black children must continue to confront biased, institutionalized practices, beliefs and attitudes concerning race which were symbolic of the Forsyth County March. Older children's unavoidable understanding of the implications of racism for future options and current pursuits makes clear the statistics on black teen pregnancy, black male school drop-out rates, intraracial violence, and black male incarceration rates. Given unavoidable cognitive understanding without indications of aggressive systemic level interventions, adaptations and decisions made by black youth might help to maintain mental health and "beliefs" about control in the "short-run", although such decisions have negative life course implications.

Our findings suggest that with development and more mature cognitive processing, minority youth are able to process: (1) the racism-linked environmental constraints more effectively, and (2) the implied negative consequences for perceptions of the self (regarding current and future options). It would appear that coping is promoted by parental teaching of positive cultural images and history.

Two changes must occur simultaneously. First, there needs to be an aggressive program to combat covert and overt forms of institutionalized racism. Second, black parents must take a more active role by intervening between societal level entrenched racism and their children. The parental defensive childrearing style which is to ignore cultural heritage issues and to assume successful assimilation may well be adaptive (i.e., use of "denial" as a defense mechanism) for themselves in the short run; but obviously it is not positive for their children's development and more general ego functioning in the long run since covert forms of racism remain and appear more virulent in quality. These baseline considerations should undergird any program to support the survival and to diminish the effects of racism on black children and youth.

STATEMENT OF LILLIAN COMAS-DIAZ, CODIRECTOR, TRANSCULTURAL MENTAL HEALTH INSTITUTE

Dr. **Comas-Diaz.** My testimony today is on Salvadoran adolescents' adjustment to the United States, about the implications for race relations. Many of my comments are consistent with the comments that Bruce Kelley made earlier today. Salvadorans bring to the United States severe problems as a result of the civil war trauma. Some of these include depression, explosive and antisocial behavior, domestic violence and substance abuse. Many of them tend to be very suspicious about the system partly due to the fear of being discovered and deported. They are also afraid of other Hispanics and Salvadorans as well, because they fear that they may be spies of the Salvadoran government who, in turn, have the power to retaliate against their relatives back home.

Salvadoran children and adolescents face special problems of their own. Many come from a painful reality in which the stressors are multiple. As indicated before, they experience the war related violence, limited educational background, fear and a sense of powerless, and the breakdown of social and family structures.

Indeed, many of these youngsters come by themselves. When Salvadoran youngsters immigrate, their adjustment to the United States is shaped by their developmental stages. Thus, at the moment of translocation, some of them are in the process of developing their sense of identity.

According to Erikson, prejudices develop during the developmental stage where the struggle for identity cruelly and sharply differentiates between the familiar and the foreign.

Coming from a country where there is no significant racial diversity, many of these youngsters encounter blacks for the first time.

Racial tensions between Salvadorans and black adolescents have been reported in many places, including the city of Washington, D.C. School settings and neighborhoods have witnessed such tensions and encounters.

The financial constraints and the lack of resources that characterize black and Salvadoran inner-city populations in D.C. help to broaden the gap between these two ethnic groups. Many Salvadoran parents tend to overprotect their children, transplanting some of their behaviors that they used to have in El Salvador to the United States.

Within this context, the "other" is the enemy, i.e., the known Salvadoran people, and parents tend to emphasize that survival, regardless of the means, is a must. This information had been verified by clinical anecdotes and findings.

More relevant to this testimony today is the emergence of racial or ethnic gangs among Salvadorans. This behavior, as it was mentioned this morning, aims to recreate some of the support system that they lost by coming to the United States, but is also a means of protecting and isolating themselves from the racism and the situation in the United States.

Unfortunately for some of these gangs, their aim is to protect themselves against blacks.

Let me share with you some preliminary findings that I have in terms of the work that I have been doing consulting several agencies here in the Washington, D.C. area. Most of them are based on actual clinical evaluations and psychological testing.

First of all, what I have found with Salvadoran youngsters is that their way of interacting is very deceiving. When you're working with them, they appear very formal and very appropriate. However, when you start analyzing the results of these tests, they reveal the existence of suspiciousness, fear and paranoia. Content analysis of the tests also denote a strong evidence of tense racial relationships, particularly with blacks.

In terms of their adjustments, there are several indicators of the use of and potential use of violence as a means of coping with reality. These adolescents' previous exposure to violence makes them more susceptible to using violence.

A gender difference has been observed. Males tend to project their aggression not against other Salvadorans, but against people of other races or ethnicity, particularly blacks, while females tend to internalize these aggressions into being more self destructive.

Some of the males state, as I've been indicating, that belonging to these gangs is a way of preserving their identity.

In summary, Salvadoran children and adolescents are in great need. Many of them come from a painful reality in which the stressors are multiple. The racial tension between Salvadoran children and black youngsters emerge partly due to the socioeconomic situation that both groups encounter. These financial constraints foster more competition for the available limited resources.

Linguistic and cultural differences also aid to build the barrier to communication. The Salvadoran youngsters' paranoia, in many cases an adaptive paranoia, also impedes the development of satisfactory racial relationships.

The emergence already of racial/ethnic gangs among Salvadoran adolescents seem to be only the tip of the iceberg. Of course we have witnessed ethnic gangs proliferate in other parts of the United States.

Incidentally, this particular situation has not been picked up in the media here. Race relations, particularly between Salvadoran and black adolescents, needs to be considered very, very carefully, and intervention needs to be designed to improve racial relations among these groups.

Another point I would like to include in my testimony today concerns the political status of Salvadorans. Many of the Central American immigrants are not considered political refugees. Therefore, in this country they are not allowed, they're not able to receive any type of financial resources from the government. As political refugees, other Latin American groups are eligible for these resources, Cubans and Chileans, for instance.

Salvadorans have been described, instead, as being displaced refugees, and the term denotes people who immigrate against their will. And they usually come without any type of resources, limited education and background; and they usually don't have any previous arrangements made in the United States to facilitate their transition here.

So more than talking in terms of voluntary immigrants you're talking about a group of people who come scared, perhaps permanently scared by the trauma of the civil war. And their means of dealing with reality has been using violence or being exposed to violence. Then when they're transplanted here to the United States, encountering different ethnic groups furthers their problems.

Thank you very much.

Chairman **Miller**. Thank you. Mr. De Maria.

[Prepared statement of Lillian Comas-Diaz follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF LILLIAN COMAS-DÍAZ, PH.D., CODIRECTOR, TRANSCULTURAL MENTAL HEALTH INSTITUTE, WASHINGTON DC

SALVADORAN ADOLESCENTS' ADJUSTMENT TO THE UNITED STATES: IMPLICATIONS FOR RACE RELATIONS

Introduction

Salvadorans' massive immigration to the United States can be traced to the onset of their country's civil war. For the past six years, Salvadorans have been increasing in numbers, comprising approximatly 700,000. Most of them have settled in the metropolitan areas of Los Angeles, Houston, and Washington, D.C.

Salvadorans are considered displaced refugees, as opposed to political refugees. Vargas (1984) distinguishes between the political exile and the displaced person. The political exile tends to be more educated, resourceful; who made a choice, being aware of its consequences, and usually has made some arrangements and established some support in the U.S. For example, Cubans and most Chileans in the U.S. can be considered political exiles. On the other hand, Salvadorans fit more into the category of displaced persons, who tend to come from a lower socioeconomic backgrounds, with a history of oppression and exploitation; who leave their country without preparation or support abroad, and are suddenly displaced due to a forced immigration. These circumstances increase vulnerability to health related and emotional dysfunctions.

When Salvadorans arrive, they face unemployment, and major difficulties in obtaining food, clothing, housing , and health services. This situation is further complicated by the U.S. practice of not recognizing Salvadorans as refugees, thus, not qualifying for the broad range of services as is in the case for refugees groups. However, this group is ascribed refugee status by other countries.

Salvadorans bring to the U.S. severe problems as a result of the civil war trauma. In her study of Salvadorans residing in California, Vargas (1984) enumerates these problems as depression, explosive and antisocial behavior, domestic violence (wife battering and child abuse), and substance abuse. Most of the information available on Salvadorans is based on anecdotes or clinical impressions. However, empirical studies are needed in order to examine the effect of traumatic war adjustment variables characteristic of the Salvadoran experience and their impact on their coping and resettlement in the U.S.

Many Salvadorans tend to be suspicious of the system, partly due to the fear of "being discovered " and deported. They are also afraid of other Hispanics and Salvadorans as well, fearing that they may be spies of the Salvadoran government, who has the power to retaliate against their relatives back in El Salvador. Consequently, those seeking help, may not reveal personal information such as address, birthdate, etc. that could easily identify them. Many Salvadorans also have "surviver's paranoia" (suspicion that survivors have against everybody else). More specifically, institutional workers should be careful about confronting Salvadorans who resist offering personal information. Similarly, the surviver's guilt prevalent among individuals with war traumatic experiences, can be translated into an attitude toward life where hopelessness and helplessness prevail.

Salvadoran Adolescents

Salvadoran children and adolescents face special problems. Many of them come from a painful reality in which the stressors are multiple: war related violence, limited educational background, fear and a sense of powerless, and the breakdown of social and family structures. Espino and her associates (1987) are researching the impact of traumatic war-related experiences on Salvadoran school childrens' behaviors. Parents as well as their offspring are being interviewed. The younsters' exposure to violence and separation index are utilized as measures of emotional trauma. Findings are currently being analyzed within the context of this population's reality: war-related trauma, emigration, and cultural adjustment experience. This investigation is one of the few ones that are assessing the impact of war related trauma on Salvadoran children and adolescents.

When Salvadoran younsters immigrate, their adjustment to the United States is shaped by their developmental stages. Thus, at the moment of translocation, some of them are in the process of developing their sense of identity. According to Erikson (1950), prejudices develop during the developmental stage where struggle for identity cruelly and sharply differentiates between the familiar and the foreign. Coming from a country where there is no significant racial diversity, many of these youngsters encounter Blacks for the first time.

Racial tensions between Salvadoran and Black adolescents have been reported in the city of Washington, D.C. School settings and neighborhoods have witnessed such tensions and encounters. The financial constraints and the lack of resources that characterize Black and Salvadoran inner city populations of Washington, D.C., help to broaden the gap between these two ethnic groups. Many Salvadoran parents tend to overprotect their offspring, transplanting the behaviors used in El Salvador to the United States. Within this context, the "other" is the enemy, and parents emphasize that survival, regardless of means, is a most. Anecdotal information reveals that these tensions have escalated to the point of the emergence of racial/ethnic gangs, where acts of violence occur. Let us examine some of these issues more in detail.

Data Gathering

As a clinical psychologist, I consult to several institutions in the Washington D.C. area. Wthint this context, I have interviewed adolescents (ages 14-19) from El Salvador. These interviews have been systematic, consisting of clinical assessments and psychological testing sesions. Although this format is not a research one, it is a standarized situation, allowing for the comparison with other ethnic groups. Thus, the adolescents' responses to these psychological tests allow for the emergence of preliminary findings.

Preliminary Clinical Findings

Style of interacting

During the formal clinical interview these adolescents behave in a very appropiate, formal, and polite manner. However, results from the standarized tests revealed the existence of suspiciousness, fear, and paranoia. Content analysis of the tests denote evidence of tense racial relationships with Blacks.

Adjustment

There are several indicators of the use of and potential use of violence as a means of coping with reality. These adolescents' previous exposure to violence makes them more susceptible to using violence. A gender difference was observed. Males tended to proyect aggression and violence onto others, while females tended to internalize these reactions as self destruction. Some of the males stated belonging to "gangs" in their neighborhoods. These ethnic gangs provide them with a sense of belonging and function as a buffer against adjustment difficulties. They also stated that belonging to these gangs was for "protective purposes" (most of the time "protection" against Blacks)

Summary

Salvadoran children and adolescents are in great need. Many of them come from a painful reality in which the stressors are multiple: war related violence, limited educational background, fear and a sense of powerless, and the breakdown of social and family structures. In fact, some of these children come without their families, encountering even more severe difficulties during their adjustment to the United States.

The racial tension between Salvadoran and Black younsters emerge partly due to the socieconomic situation that both groups experience. These financial constraints foster more competition for the available limited resources. Linguistic and cultural differences also aid to erect the barrier to communication. The Salvadoran younsters' "paranoia" also impede the development of satisfactory racial relations. The already emergence of racial/ethnic gangs among Salvadoran adolescents seem to be the tip of the iceberg. We have witnessed ethnic gangs proliferate in other parts of the United States (Los Angeles, Boston) where these problems have grew exponentially. Hispanic/Black race relations (particularly Salvadoran/Black) need to be considered more seriously. Interventions designed to improve racial relations among these groups need to be instituted.

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STATEMENT OF RENATO DE MARIA, PRINCIPAL, NEW DORP HIGH SCHOOL, STATEN ISLAND, NY

Mr. DE MARIA. Congressman, ladies and gentlemen, there's a decided advantage of speaking last in the sense that I have listened to the expert testimony. My testimony will be positive. I promise you you will not be depressed.

I represent and am the principal of a New York City public school. It's not an inner-city school. It's a school in a residential community on Staten Island.

Being the principal, I represent approximately 3,400 students. As my students say, I have the "most juice" in the school. It is sometimes said that two of the most difficult times in one's life is when one is an adolescent or when one is the parent of an adolescent. Well, I'm the parent of over 3,000 youngsters.

I can well represent this school for I will tell you some of my background. I'm a graduate of this school. I was raised in this community and all of my teaching career has been in this particular school. So I know this community and school well.

This school, as I said, is set in a residential community from lower to middle income level. It is a non-integrated community. It is a school of very fine tradition and excellence, and still continues to be so.

Slowly, as zone changes from OCR regulations began to impact on the school, by 1980 we had approximately six percent minority population in our school. And, as was mentioned before, administrators and teachers and school personnel seem to walk with blinders. They did not recognize that problems existed or the perception of problems existed.

If it is a perception that a child believes, then you have to address it whether it is accurate or not. October 10, 1980, over 200 students from our school walked out in protest. They were white students. They were claiming preferential treatment of minority students in our school. The black community clamored at our doors and said there was prejudicial treatment toward minorities in our school.

So, in essence, they both had the same arguments. They both had the same perceptions, but from different viewpoints. This was inspired by a fight between two girls of differing races. The school was closed and reorganized. The community was clamoring at our doors claiming that we were mistreating our children. We were a school in crisis.

Well, in these past six years, our school has continually paid attention to human relations initiatives. I have given the committee a list of over 14 initiatives that we presently have. I will not address all 14, I promise you, but I would just like to highlight the philosophy of the school, the global view of the school, and some of the programs that we have found to be successful.

The school in crisis, these same people that were clamoring at our door, we said you have to get involved with the school. We formed a community advisory council. This council represents approximately 30 community groups who have constituencies that send students to our school.

They are groups such as the Urban League, homeowners associations, community boards, representatives of political officials, governmental officials, our own PTA, NAACP, Black Ministerial Alliance, the Catholic church, the Protestant church, police departments, plus our own students, our own parent association and staff.

We meet monthly, and it has been fabulous to see the evolution of this group that started as an angry group and self serving group, to now they have developed into a collaborative, cooperative group, extremely proud to serve our school.

Each month we discuss issues in the school, issues that will affect children, issues that will make children unhappy, how to better the school, and if there are human relation issues, of course they are primary to our discussion. We have received a great deal of value out of this community group.

This community group serves as a rumor control mechanism. You know, if a child falls down the stairs and gets a bloody nose, by the time the news reaches three blocks from the school, the child has been "stabbed" six times. Rumor control is extremely important, so that if we do have an incident in the school, or a potential incident, or the makings of an incident, what we have set up through the community groups is a relay system whereby the principal starts it off and gives the facts as he knows them at the time. This is transmitted throughout the community.

So, very often the people in the community will call their community leaders rather than the school for information or verification of information. This system has served us well.

There is one commitment, however, that an educator must make. In a sense you must "wash your dirty laundry in public," and you have to make the commitment of being totally honest. Traditionally, I don't know if I'm speaking to any educators here, but public relations-wise, you feed to the community what is positive about your school.

But with this group, in order to keep this group, and we've kept this group intact for six years, you must be completely honest. This commitment has to be made.

Secondly, the school has to be completely open to the community. In other words, it's not just a mystery place where 3,000 youngsters are sealed off for six hours per day. The community has to be involved in the school.

This group has served also as a political power, a political force, in the sense of getting things for the school; for example, extra police protection, getting a motor scooter instead of a foot patrolman, changing traffic regulations and patterns for the safety of the school, bus schedules, et cetera. So it has become a political force as well.

This group has also served as far as earning grant money. Through this group we received a $30,000 grant that developed a multi-cultural, multi-ethnic curriculum infusion project. We worked with the New York State education department, human relations experts, content area experts at Columbia University.

Over a summer, approximately ten lessons, that are drop in lessons, in each content area of the school were developed. These ten lessons would have a human relations theme, and they would be infused into the regular curriculum in content areas throughout the school year. We found offering courses in Afro-American history or Hispanic culture, would not reach all of the children, and the children you want to reach, do not sign up for these courses.

So therefore we felt a schoolwide curriculum change was essential. This was accomplished approximately three years ago. This infusion has now been part of our regular curriculum.

As far as the student body is concerned, change had to be made; attitudinal change, the most difficult of changes. Remember, we get our youngsters when they're 13, 14 years old. Some of them come from hermetically sealed environments in which the only contact they've had is with all white students or with all minority students, and sometimes they come from, I must admit, redneck families in which they bring their prejudices from their family.

Therefore, a great deal of effort and a great many of our initiatives have gone toward making the youngster feel part of the school. We found that the minority students felt as if they were visiting, and not part of the school.

How did we attack this? We attacked this by increasing extracurricular activity, by ensuring academic success of students. You give them a little bit of success and they want a great deal more.

When I first came on board four years ago there were 14 organized sports. There are now 37 organized sports teams. International festival: the international club is the one that I love the most. It's our largest extra-curricular activity. It is composed of approximately 180 members, active members, and they perform many functions, community work and so on, and they represent a cross-section of all of the ethnic groups and racial groups in our school.

Each year they organize a festival; one that involves a performance in which groups—and it doesn't necessarily mean—for example, we had a dance from Israel performed on stage and I think one of the group was Jewish. But what they do is they are proud of the multiculture and multiethnic qualities of their heritage, and are also proud to be Americans. To see that group work together and to see the cross-sections of students that participate in that, and to see our student population pay $3 to stay two hours after school to watch this, and you get approximately a student audience of 800, 900, and these are indicators that things are changing.

We established a student information office. We commonly call it the "time out room". If a child feels frustrated, a child has a problem, a child wants to verify a rumor, this office is available. It is staffed by human relations experts, by neighborhood workers, and student mediators.

Some of our adolescents do not trust anyone over 20, let alone 30. And they listen to students. So, therefore, we have put our staff members through mediation and crisis intervention training, and we also have put our students through this type of training. This has pyramided or reverse pyramided; students have trained students through our leadership classes so every period of the school day there are student mediators that are in this student information office.

They resolve conflicts, they help to mediate every altercation, fight, whether it be racial or nonracial, any physical altercation in our school is a suspendable offense. However, before they are suspended by the principal, they must go through the mediation process.

In this mediation process the youngsters are given enough time to express their concerns and sometimes they even achieve resolution. They realize the cause and effect—is childish, or unimportant or unfounded, and then I suspend them anyway. And they say why, we shake hands, but I suspend them anyway.

However, the youngsters, before leaving the mediation, must at least agree not to escalate the problem among their friends. That's the key thing. We don't want to get it organized, we don't want it to get out of hand, we want to control it.

This "time out room" serves many purposes. I mentioned neighborhood workers. I have two neighborhood workers. These are not teachers. These are people that were picked not only for their qualifications, but for their ethnicity. One is named Jerry D'Angelo. He's of an American-Italian extraction, very popular in the community, known in athletic circles. Another one is Shirley Lee, a very qualified, trained sociologist who lives in the Parkhill community, which is the minority community within my school zone. She's very active in that community.

These people are very important to me for they bring the pulse of the community to the school. They keep me informed as to the concerns of the community. A school is nothing more than a microcosm of society. Whatever exists outside the school will exist inside the school. The neighborhood workers are extremely important as a liason to the community, keeping the community informed or representing our school at community functions, and also bringing information back to the school. They're also functional in visits to homes when there are problems that exist and the visit must be made.

Our youth outreach program is a program in its third year of operation. We get the youngsters at 9th grade and we take approximately 20 to 24 students, 9th grade students, at a time, excuse them from classes—they love this—for three days, and they're put in an intensive workshop situation.

The initial theme, the reason why we put this in, was a human relations theme, but it has evolved into a very, very valuable guidance tool. For three days these youngsters together—by the third day they will reveal their soul much more than they would reveal to their parents.

Very often, I don't know whether you realize it or not, you love your children, but they're frightened to reveal certain information to you, and very often would reveal it to an objective professional such as a teacher and so on, more so than to the parents.

In this workshop situation, self awareness, self esteem, self image, respecting the rights of individuals, human relations, are all the exercises practiced and many problems emerge; problems such as child abuse, potential suicides, alcoholism, problems that are prevalent with some youngsters. A date rape was one that we had to address, very serious problems not only among young people, but among adults.

And on the fourth day of each week, the serious problems are addressed individually in counseling sessions and referrals are made. Friday of each week is a training session for the facilitators. This is a team taught group that's taught by a professional, a Dr. Wendell, who is trained in human relations, and a police officer, and he is in plain clothes.

Initially they don't identify themselves and the youngsters have to figure out who is who. It's quite an experience. These are just some of the things.

Staff development: I've heard our speakers talking about staff and their deficiency in training. There are human relations courses that teachers must have to qualify, but that is not enough. Therefore, annually, I have a staff development day in which teachers are placed in a workshop setting and deal with inbasket type of situations. For example:

You are overhearing two students exchanging jokes and the jokes contain either ethnic slurs or refer to some culture. What does a teacher do? Make believe very—very comfortably he could make believe he doesn't hear it. Does he address the situation immediately? Does he call down the youngsters in front of other youngsters? How does the teacher handle this? or how does she handle this?

So this is the type of staff development that goes on. The stereotypes, the removal of stereotypes is very, very important, because remember, many of these teachers come from the same environment and have been hermetically sealed, so to speak, and do not know how to relate to certain cultures and certain ethnic groups. So this goes on annually.

Ladies and gentlemen, attitudinal changes are very, very difficult to measure. What I can give you are some indications that there has been behavioral change and I hope this will lead to permanent attitudinal changes.

I see the cheerleaders—if you're not an educator you wouldn't realize how important this is. I have two minorities on the cheerleading squad. This is the most exclusive, snobish group in any school. So to me that's a positive indication.

I cannot promise that there will not be any racial strife ever again in our school. I cannot guarantee there will be no problems. But I can guarantee that we have a crisis intervention plan, that we can handle any situation, that we are capable of diffusing any crisis situation, and that not one moment of instructional time will be lost because of any racial problem or any upheaval in the school because the mechanism has been set in place.

Our plan has been honored by New York State in 1985-86 by the Commissioner Gordon Ambach as the most outstanding human relations plan of the state for that year. It is also used as a model for some other New York City schools.

To be successful, one must function continually as a school in crisis. Sustained efforts must be in effect. You can't let up. You can't say because I've done this piece we can now stop and forget. The racism, the problems, do not leave that easily. Thank you.

Chairman MILLER. Thank you.

[Prepared statement of Renato De Maria follows:]

Ladies & Gentlemen:

It is my pleasure and honor to appear before you to describe the efforts being made to improve relations among students of differing racial and ethnic backgrounds to remedy past tensions and prevent future problems. New Dorp High School is a public New York City high school on Staten Island. It is an integrated school of approximately 3,000 students, set in a non-integrated community. At present we have approximately 24% of our students who are classified as minority.

On October 10, 1980, when our minority population was at 6%, approximately 200 white students "walked-out" of school and protested preferential treatment being given to minorities. This protest was inspired by a fight between two racially mixed girls. The black community protested prejudicial treatment of black students. In essence the perceptions that existed were a complete surprise to the staff and the administration. We were walking with "blinders on" for we felt this could never happen in our school. At that time I was on the staff as Assistant Principal, Department of Science. I have been a staff member since 1958 and, in fact, a graduate of New Dorp High School. I state this for I am from this community and am fully knowledgeable of the school's history and proud tradition of excellence. As a result of this incident, the school was reorganized. Positive human relations programs and crisis intervention plans evolved.

The program I will describe to you, has developed over the past six years. We have come from a school in crisis to a school at rest. However, we function always as a school in crisis for the potential for problems never leaves and requires continual attention.

I cannot guarantee there will never be racial incidents and/or problems again, but I can function with confidence, we are prepared to handle and diffuse any situation that has the potential of interrupting instruction or destroying a safe learning environment. Every N.Y.C. high school is required to develop a crisis intervention plan. Our plan, referred to city-wide as the New Dorp Plan, serves as a model to, and is used in other schools.

We have a three pronged approach; the student body, the community and the staff.

We have established a Student Information Office, commonly referred to as the "time-out" room. This room is staffed by personnel trained in mediation, conflict resolution and intervention. They include teacher counselors, neighborhood workers and student mediators. The room serves primarily for rumor control and the gathering of information. The neighborhood workers are not teachers but adults selected not only for their qualifications but for their ethnicity. One, Mr. D'Angelo lives in the New Dorp community, is of American-Italian extraction and is well known especially in athletic circles. The other, Ms. Lee, is black, a trained sociologist, lives and is active in Park Hill, a minority community in our school zone. These people are invaluable in sensing the pulse and concerns of the community as they relate to our school. They serve as liaisons to community groups and student homes and as counselors within our school. Any altercation, racial or non-racial, between and/or among students _must_ go through a mediation process. Students are given time to air their concerns, come to agreement, sign contracts and, at least, agree _not_ to esculate the problem and involve their friends, before they are suspended from school. I am a firm believer, given enough time, young people will resolve their own problems with a solution that will not endanger and/or involve others. In many cases they leave as friends after realizing the causitive factor is childish, unfounded and/or unimportant. The center is extremely important in controlling rumor. Our Leadership students are the source of factual information for the student body and also serve as student mediators.

Our Youth Outreach Program is in its third year and is highly successful. Each week, groups of ninth grade students (20-25), are excused from classes and placed in an intensive workshop setting for three days. They are team-taught by a police officer and a staff member. Positive human relations is the desired objective including a development of a respect for the rights and individual differences of others. Sensitivity, self-awareness and values clarification, naturally emerge in each workshop along with common adolescent problems. Cases of family discord, poor self-image, date rape, incest, substance abuse and potential suicide also emerge, are counseled individually and proper referral is made. I truly am not allotted the time to discuss all of our student programs. The attached addendum briefly describes some of the initiatives in process.

The New Dorp High School Community Advisory Council was formed as a result of the initial incident. The same people who were "clamoring" at our doors, with accusations of mistreatment of children, are now part of this council. I have been meeting with this group since its inception. It has been wonderful to see the group dynamics of an angry/self-serving group evolve into a collaborative, cooperative, selfless group of people, proud to serve their community school. Its members represent all community groups that have constituencies sending children to our school. Representative examples are Urban League, police, governmental officials, NAACP, N.D. Retailers Assoc., home-owners organization, church, Black Ministerial Alliance, staff, students and our Parent's Association. Approximately thirty members attend monthly evening meetings. School problems and their possible solutions are discussed. Advice to the principal as to school policy, is given. The principal, however, must make the commitment of total honesty; so to speak, he must be willing to "wash his dirty laundry" in public. Traditionally, schools release only positive public relations.

The school must be opened to the community, its programs must be viewed and accessed and suggestions for improvement must be accepted. This group has been beneficial to our school in many ways; as a rumor control mechanism, this group is informed by telephone relay of potential problems. As a political force, our school has gained added police protection, traffic pattern changes, improved bus service and protection, etc. all beneficial to our students. This organization was responsible for grant funding to develop multi-cultural, multi-ethnic curriculum infusion in all content areas. They are involved and totally informed as to our school activities and school climate.

Annually, a staff development day is devoted to techniques and/or discussion of positive human relations. Workshops are conducted in which hypotheical and "in basket" situations are discussed and courses of action defined. The training is especially valuable to new staff members.

Attitudinal changes are difficult to measure but positive behavioral indicators give credence that our school and community have changed. Perceptions of our school are now appropriately positive. Student extra-curricular activities have tripled. All students "feel" the school belongs to them. School spirit has been uplifted. Our Third Annual Sing involved over 400 racially mixed students, as did our International Festival. In three years, our organized sports teams have grown from 14 to 37. Our award winning Cheerleaders have two minority members. If you are not an educator, you may not realize this achievement with a traditionally "exclusive" group of students. Our student officers, elected by their peers, have minority representation. This year two of the four elected officers are minority including the president. Vandalism and grafitti has been virtually eradicated. The tragic Howard Beach incident occurred during our winter recess. Even though the exploitive press was present to interview staff and students, school commenced and functioned normally and productively without incident. In the past six years, there have been incidents of deep concern, but not one minute of instructional time has been lost and in each situation, calmness, diffusion and effectiveness prevailed.

With my experience, I warn all educators to be aware of perceptions that may exist in their school. Do not be fooled into believing this cannot happen in your school. Be informed that concerted efforts are effective. Financial support is always a necessity but much can be accomplished with only a dedicated staff and involved community. Thank you.

Respectfully submitted,

RDM:cc

Renato L. De Maria
Principal

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PRINCIPAL

HUMAN RELATIONS PROGRAMS - NEW DORP HIGH SCHOOL 1986-87

I. Student Information Office (Time-out Room)

Serves for - rumor control
- gathering information
- group meetings
- rap sessions
- individual counseling
- mediation

Served by - Mrs. E. Lannigan, Director
Mr. M. Frumkin, Counselor
Mr. J. D'Angelo, School Neighborhood Worker
Ms. S. Lee, School Neighborhood Worker
Student mediators

II. Positive Leaders Program - Funding from the New York State Education Department has enabled the employment of Mr. Roger Johnson, NYS Mediation Consultant who will function in cooperation with Ms. Barbara Rapoport, NYS Division of Civil Rights. They will assist in a program that will identify students with extreme concerns involved in conflict situations and attempt to develop these students as positive leaders.

III. NCCJ Weekend Retreat - Through funding from the National Council of Christians & Jews, the NY Urban League and the NY State Education Department, Division of Civil Rights, a human relations weekend is scheduled annually. This retreat involves thirty-five students, parents and staff members, meeting in Pawling, NY, for intensive sensitivity training. The retreat is conducted by William Jorden and Margaret Gilmore, experts in mediation and conflict resolution techniques.

IV. The S.I. Borough President's Advisory Council - Mr. DeMaria, Mrs. Lannigan and one 11th grade student will undergo mediation training and sit on an "Island-wide" advisory council for human relations.

V. Youth Outreach Program - Sensitivity and self-awareness workshops is part of our ninth grade orientation program. Team teaching by P.O. Michael Kosowski and NDHS counselor, Dr. Joyce Wendel, takes place with each ninth grade homeroom. One homeroom per week is involved with three full days of workshops and one day for individual counseling. The fifth day is a training session (off-site) for the counselors. The students are responsible for the three days of subject area material they have missed. Positive human relations is the desired objective including a development of a respect for the rights and individual differences of others. However many adolescent problems emerge, their commonality revealed and possible solutions discussed.

continued . . . . .

VI. Police Science - Two elective classes of police science have been established (second year running) that serves as an elective subject for upper term students. Team teaching on the part of P.O. N. DiTommasso and teacher, Mr. J. Dietz, addresses the problems of the community's perception of the role of the Police Department. It involves the development of a respect for the law, law enforcement and the rights of others.

VII. Youth Dialogue Program - This program was attempted in Summer School 1985 with great success, and has continued during the regular school year. P.O. N.DiTommasso will involve each Social Studies class for one period, in an attempt to develop positive human relations and a respect of human rights.

VIII. Staff Development - Annually, a full day is devoted to sensitize the staff to human relations techniques and strategies should any racial, religious and/or ethnic slur occur in the classroom. The staff meets in plenary sessions, interdisciplinary workshops and departmental workshops. The curriculum is analyzed for the natural infusion of human relations components.

IX. Parental Involvement - At a joint meeting with the NDHS Human Relations staff, the S.I. Chapter of Urban League, the Y.M.C.A. Counseling Service and the Mayor's Crisis Intervention Team, a program stressing community involvement in education was established to be presented September 26, 1985. Aside from direct mailings, plans were established to provide transportation for parents, and advertisements by "hand outs," through community based groups. (see attached program)

X. New Dorp High School Community Advisory Council - This group has been actively functioning for six years. It is composed of representatives of approximately thirty community groups who have constituencies who have children attending New Dorp High School. This council serves as liaison to the community, a rumor control mechanism, in an advisory capacity to the principal as to school policy relating to human relations, and a great support to the school in times of need and/or crisis.

XI. New Dorp High School Welcome Extension - Teams of students visit feeder schools to insure closer articulation and understanding of our school. Students are invited to Open House and tours are arranged to see our facilities in action. Parents and members of the community are invited to attend.

XII. Orientation of Students New to New Dorp High School - The incoming ninth grade students are assembled prior to the main student body, for a class meeting. The program offered tours, explanation of courses of study, student activities and the importance of student involvement. The class is addressed by students and staff. A class spirit is developed and positive human relations was fostered. Each Spring, eighth grade students exhibiting anti-social and/or attendance problems, are identified. They are brought to our school during a normal school day; counseled; introduced to our programs; entertained;and are "buddied" with our students. It serves as a motivation to "wipe the slate clean" and ease the adjustment into the high school experience.

continued . . . . .

XIII. Community Dialogue - Parents of our students from the minority and majority communities met at Bayley-Seton Hospital auditorium to express concerns and discuss racial differences. Plans were made for joint efforts of support at PTA meetings and Advisory Council meetings.

XIV. ESEA Grant - Intergroup Relations Improvement Program - a $12,000 grant has been awarded to New Dorp High School for the purpose of the reduction of racial isolat and the improvement of academic achievement through human relations. Fifty of students have been paired with fifty students in our "sister" school, George Washington High School. The pairing of majority and minority students intends to ease adjustment to school, discern commonalities of problems, and receive intensiv guidance for improvement of achievement. The groups have enjoyed exchange visits, trips to Washington D.C., trips to colleges and museums, and have had guest speakers that have been motivational to the students. This interracial program has been enthusiastically received by our students. With certainty, behavioral and attitudinal changes will be the positive results upon evaluation.

XV. Student Exchange - Through Board of Education funding, ten students and two teachers spent one week in the schools and homes of students in Atlanta, Georgia. Along with tours and socialization, "rap" sessions were built in with discussions geared toward positive human and race relations. We will host ten Georgians the week of March 26th -31st.

XVI. International Club Festival - This extra curricular activity is the largest in our school involving 180 members. Along with community service, dances, regular meetings, etc., it produces an annual Festival. It involves a performance in which the heritage of various ethnic cultures is displayed with pride, and foods of various nations are offered. Over one thousand students and community members pay to participate. The funds are donated to various charities.

XVII. Curriculum Infusion - Under a NY State Education Department grant for the Summer of 1983, a multi-cultural, multi-ethnic curriculum infusion design was developed. Columbia University Graduate School, with the assistance of doctoral students, involved teachers and human relations specialist in this summer program. Ten "drop-in" lessons for each content area, each with a human relations theme, were developed. These lessons are now part of our standard curriculum.

RDM:ca
3/87

YOUTH OUTREACH UNIT

The Youth Outreach Unit is in place in nine New York City schools. New Dorp High School is the only school on Staten Island with the program.

A police officer and a teacher are the moderators/facilitators. Students from all freshman homerooms are included in the program as part of their freshman orientation. They are excused from their subject classes for three days, from periods 2 through 9. They all have lunch period 6. They are expected to make up missed work and exams.

The first day of the program establishes trust and encourages the students to feel comfortable in a workshop setting. Names and personal information are informally exchanged as everyone introduces themselves and tells about who they live with, their pets, their hobbies and their future plans. The afternoon is involved with discussions of communication and perception. It is at this point that the facilitators introduce the concept of stereotype and discuss the limits that stereotypes and perception places on our lives. The final exercise involves empathy.

The task for the evening is to tell someone in their family that they love them. They are encouraged to select someone that they find it difficult to express these feelings to. This opens the session for day two. Many are amazed that they could not express these feelings. The first exercise involves problem solving and leads to the understanding that there are usually solutions to every problem and the task is to find that solution, even if it means thinking in ways that are new or novel. They examine their problem solving behavior. The remainder of the day is spent with value clarification and a discussion of what we truly value. The final exercise involves creating a 24 hour clock which then enables the student to see if he is living his day in a way that pleases him/her and reflects those values the student chose as important.

The final day is concerned with making a contract to change or to start some new behavior. This is followed by an exercise of "I AM" in which the student considers his/her roles and attributes. The final segment is concerned with the problems the students elect to share with one another and the moderators. Several representative problems are solved collectively. Generally they include problems with family, or school. Frequently serious problems (suicidal feelings, date rape, abuse) are mentioned and these children are targeted for help from the school's guidance facilities or private agencies or services.

This term 255 students have been through the workshops. The attached papers summarize the results of the various surveys completed by the students.

STATEN ISLANDERS LIVING & WORKING TOGETHER
A HUMAN RELATIONS INITIATIVE

1986 UNSUNG HERO AWARD

TO

NEW DORP HIGH SCHOOL COMMUNITY ADVISORY COUNCIL

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Chairman **Miller**. Dr. Spencer, you mentioned that in some instances while children are learning at a rather early age to evaluate their color positively or negatively, in many instances in your study apparently the parents were seeking, it would appear, to shield them from those decisions or from that evaluation, or to put off until a later time that evaluation.

In the previous panel there was some discussion of the internalization of the feelings of racism and the frustrations and the anger.

Would you consider that part of that process or is that separate from that?

Dr. **Spencer**. I think it can be viewed as both separate and a part of it. Separate in the sense that parents really, in terms of their own coping strategies, have a need to believe that the sixties did take care of the major racial issues of this country. And therefore, the defense has to do simply with denying the reality and the pain which accompanies experienced racism; that is what the parents—sample parents have shared.

Their job, as they perceive it, is to raise human beings. They view their task as requiring them to socialize children to be productive members of society and, therefore, they ignore the prevalence and the nonchanging state of racism.

So, to that degree, I think it's separate in that it's simply a perception that "I need to view my childrearing task as a traditional American parent."

On the other hand, in other cases where parents really do know better it's simply a matter of basically suppressing, you know, how they really feel, and therefore the outcome is the same; the children are, in essence, left unprotected, but the processes may be different or combined for certain parents.

Chairman **Miller**. Dr. Comas-Diaz, you talked a little bit about the competition for resources, among blacks and Salvadorans and Hispanics. One of the responses was young males forming gangs, Salvadoran males.

What's going on among young females? I mean, how are they coping with the same predicament?

Dr. **Comas-Diaz**. As I indicated before, they tend to internalize these feelings of aggression, and they get depressed and they expose themselves in situations that can be self destructive.

I haven't seen any gangs being formed by females, but there's a sense of hopelessness, fear, almost like a phobic type of behavior; i.e., not getting too much out of the house because they're afraid that something is going to happen to them. This is also related to the Latin American culture where the female tends to be even more overprotected.

So, when they come here, that situation gets exaggerated.

Chairman **Miller**. You mentioned self destructive behavior. Are you talking self destructive behavior—of their ability to function within society?

But is it even more serious than that?

Dr. **Comas-Diaz**. Oh, yes. Suicidal ideas, sometimes suicidal gestures, interesting enough substance abuse, mostly in terms of alcohol. I mean, we tend to think about alcoholism in the Latin American culture more prevalent among males, but that's not really the case.

What we have been finding is a closet—alcoholism among females. So that sort of self-destructive behavior as well is found, but I'm more concerned with the suicidal and depressive symptoms. And also with low performance at school, even though their IQs are average or above average in the cases that I have interviewed myself.

Chairman MILLER. Mr. Hurst, Mr. De Maria outlined, and I'll get back to it in a minute here—a rather elaborate response to what, even with the resultant walkout, in many educational institutions might be considered a somewhat minor incident or sporadic incident. And I obviously don't know the history of the fight between the two women.

But what's been the response at UMASS? I mean, they had a major incident. What's going on internally? Have you been able to determine what kind of follow-up and institutional changes are taking place there after the '86 incident?

Mr. HURST. Yes. I think that generally I can say the response has been dramatic. I can say that nothing of the sort that exists at principal De Maria's school existed at UMASS when I came on board to conduct my investigation.

After I conducted the investigation and observed behavior, and that's probably what I do best because I'm a law enforcement officer, I made 16 recommendations. The last of those recommendations was a recommendation that the school do a periodic assessment of whether or not it had implemented the recommendations in my report with the hope that that would keep the report alive.

One of the recommendations that I made, which was key, was that the school appoint a person of high authority to implement all the other recommendations and to be responsible for intervening in any future racial incident. Consequently the school appointed the former chancellor, Chancellor Randolph Bromery, as that higher authority. I thought that was a significant behavior on their part.

I was also interested in the behavior of the security force regarding the incident during the time that it was happening and during the post-investigation. I indicated that there were serious security problems that the school had to correct. The school has subsequently gone out and hired a consultant. They haven't done anything yet to cure it, but they've hired a consultant whose job is to analyze the security situation and determine what kind of changes can be made to prevent the kind of incident that occurred before.

Clearly—the university, and I agree, that you can't make a university an armed camp, but you also cannot allow the security people to feel confident standing on the periphery of a racial incident without protecting people, whether they be white or minorities.

So there is work in progress to develop a plan for security. I've also suggested that the school implement educational programs that are more mandatory than voluntary. Prior to my coming on campus the programs that had been implemented for racial awareness were all voluntary, and consequently the only people who attended were the people who probably needed the program the least.

The faculty and staff are committed to developing such programs. Whether or not that happens, again, I leave it up to the evaluation process that I recommended.

Chairman MILLER. What's the number of black faculty?

Mr. HURST. You've got 31 black faculty I think out of about 250. You've got 500 to 600 black students out of 25,000. Those ratios in and of themselves speak——

Chairman MILLER. You have 31 black faculty out of how many?

Mr. HURST. I think it's about 250.

Chairman MILLER. And they're spread throughout the various schools?

Mr. HURST. No. Most of the black faculty are restricted to the Afro-American studies department. Most of the tenured black faculty are in the Afro-American studies department. There's only been a recent effort to spread the faculty throughout the university. And, in fact, I think that one of the critical points in my study has been heeded by the white faculty who are primarily responsible for hiring faculty.

There has been little effort at affirmative action across the board in the different departments at the university. And consequently, when faculty hire, it's generally a whole board process——

Chairman MILLER. So you have—institutionally you have an affirmative action program in terms of bringing black faculty members to the school, but the concentration of those faculties would be within a few departments.

Mr. HURST. Yes. And, in fact, the institutional affirmative action program in prior years at this particular university had been down graded. I'm told that's the case in a number of other places. So that the power of affirmative action in terms of a balancing effect was not there.

Essentially, faculty were able to hire who they wanted to hire. And, in fact, it had been documented that the faculty had systematically obtained what they call waivers to avoid having to follow affirmative action policies, which is why I made it as one of my recommendations that the entire affirmative action program at the University of Massachusetts be reviewed for its effectiveness.

Chairman MILLER. Do you think that was a contributing factor in attitudes at the university?

Mr. HURST. Well, I think in two ways it was a contributing factor. I think that white students perceived that affirmative action is a preference for black students that is undeserved and unearned, et cetera. I think it's a reflection of attitudes they carry from home.

But I was more amazed at the minority students, faculty and staff. There was an incredible anger, deep-seated bitterness, at the perception that they had that the affirmative action programs were being cut back. My investigation revealed, in fact, that those perceptions were accurate. The programs were being cut back. And not only a deep-seated bitterness, but a willingness to express that in some pretty rough ways. There was certainly not the tolerance that you might have found in the sixties and seventies.

Chairman MILLER. Well, then, let me ask you if it would be fair to assume that prior to the incident that sparked this between the students after the World Series game, there would have been manifestations of frustration or racial tensions or discontent, whatever you want to use, that were ongoing at the university?

Mr. HURST. My investigation revealed that there were similar incidents that occurred in the past. The incidents were somewhat consistent with the one that I had investigated. They were not as violent, but some of them were as disturbing to faculty, students and staff.

There was one incident in particular that was highlighted as an incident that caused a kind of bitterness that has carried over since 1983. It seems to be, if not as bad, then probably worse, as it was in 1983. It dealt with a black student who was terminated from the university for having set a fire, and who was—she was removed and pointed out as the culprit on the basis of an FBI profile that had no foundation in fact.

As it turned out later, it was not legitimate at all. Some other things happened relating to that incident that, in terms of the university's response, were quite similar to the things that I found happening in this particular situation.

For instance, denial that there was a racial consideration in drawing up the profile, denial of the fact that there was bitterness among faculty and staff, denial that security people had responded in a very negative, in this case racist way to the incident itself.

I think if I could point out any one thing that seems to be consistent as a strain throughout it is the denial element.

Chairman MILLER. Mr. De Maria, there's a historical footnote. Some time ago, at the time of the overthrow of Salvador Allende in Chile occurred, it was said that he was a fool, that he had too much faith in democracy and that eventually that would cause his demise because he would refuse to incarcerate the enemies of his administration. And, obviously, he was overthrown and assassinated.

I suspect there are some in the elementary, secondary school system who say that you place a little bit too much faith in the resources of your students and your community to show good judgment. And yet, somehow you seem to have taken the attitudes of the community and of your school in an incident and seem to have diffused them by calling upon the very parties that are parties to the conflict, if you will.

Mr. DE MARIA. Your observation is correct because I am even criticized by my own colleagues, my fellow principals, in a sense. They cannot make commitments as I have to open up the school to the community.

Chairman MILLER. Cannot. Why not?

Mr. DE MARIA. They, again, may still have the blinders on, sir. They may not see the problem. And the message you have gotten all morning is that the problem does exist and it is severe and it will explode.

Chairman MILLER. Not only is it severe, it seems to be particularly severe in your institutions, I mean, elementary, secondary school facilities.

Mr. DE MARIA. Well, remember I am trying these efforts in the high school level, but these youngsters are adolescents when they get to me. I think lots of this work must go on from the very, very early age as Dr. Spencer mentioned.

These are ingrown prejudices that have been with these youngsters for a long time, and I get them at age 13 and 14 and expect to change their attitudes. It is very, very difficult.

I must say an awful lot is placed on the school. I mean, we serve breakfast, lunch, we take care of health, we take care of psychiatric needs, potential suicides as well as teaching and so on and human relations. It's true, and we are not saying that we cannot do this, but we are claiming that we are only supportive in doing this. The parents have some responsibility and the community has some responsibility and the government has some responsibility.

And when you say teachers are not trained and teachers are not doing their jobs, well, you tell me where can I hire a physics teacher at a starting salary of $18,000 a year, or a teacher of computers, or even a teacher of auto mechanics at $18,000 a year?

Chairman MILLER. I guess I would draw the distinction here that we constantly hear the claim from the school administrators, and I think from parents and others, in our description of the schools that the schools are called upon, as you said, to feed our children, to counsel our children, to prevent their suicides, prevent their pregnancies, and also to teach them physics and English and what have you.

But I'm not sure that that's a conscious decision. I'm not sure it's really a conscious decision in the sense that you may have made it differently from other institutions. Those things sometimes are done grudgingly or they're done with the notion that we really shouldn't be doing this because we don't have the resources rather than deciding that that is part of what's going on in the dynamics of that school for six or seven hours a day.

So how, then, do you come to grips with it to make it a positive experience? I mean, in fact, they are eating lunch there; they are talking about sex there; they are thinking about smoking; they are thinking about drug abuse or using drugs or what have you. It seems to me that what your plan starts to implement is recognizing that, and involves deciding how you make that a positive experience, how you separate out the options that young people might exercise without that.

I don't think most school, accept those roles or any of those roles, if you will. It's a notion that if we were really left to ourselves, this would be a pure academic experience where you'd sort of check your environmental—all your conditioning at the gate of the school, come in, learn your class and get the hell out of here before your mind starts to wander to other things.

Mr. DE MARIA. I'm not saying that we do not accept these responsibilities. I'm just saying that we are dealing with a total child. We are dealing with a child, in many cases, coming to school hungry. We're dealing with children coming from family discord. We're dealing with a wide variety of youngsters with individual problems. And we try to support these youngsters in resolving these problems as well as family counseling, which we have also in our school.

Our youngsters come also with prejudicial attitudes, and that we have to address as well. What I am trying to address—I only describe a piece of what we are doing. The commitment has to be total, not only just one or two token programs, so to speak. It has to be a total picture.

The Howard Beach incident occurred over the Christmas holiday, the winter recess. As a principal I worry what's going to happen when I open the school the following Monday. Supposing I have a lunchroom—two lunchrooms, by the way, 700 in each—supposing some youngsters start shouting Howard Beach, Howard Beach? So, therefore, sleepless nights occur.

We went back to school. I don't know whether my youngsters don't read the paper or don't watch the TV. School went on normally. I was so proud of them and so happy. I didn't mention anything because I was so proud and happy they paid no attention to this incident and they started their school and the new year very, very fine.

This is an indication that something has happened to most of our kids. Every school has a 50 most wanted list. Not every child is bad. But there are 50 that need special attention. I knew that these youngsters were potential trouble, racially or otherwise. I sent each of them a letter that they have been selected because of their leadership qualities to participate in a seminar. I didn't say whether leadership qualities were positive or negative, but I know they had leadership qualities.

Well, these youngsters came with these letters and responded. And what we did, we took these youngsters to a local college, with their cooperation, gave them bus fare and money to eat with the students, and we ran a workshop for these youngsters.

These youngsters came with these letters and some kids were saying why didn't I get one. And the problem was well, how do we get them down to the college. The teacher says "I'm not riding in the bus with 50 kids like that". Well, anyway, we got them down there and we had hired a mediation expert, Roger Johnson, from New York State, also Barbara Rappaport from the New York State Human Rights, and also our own staff were involved.

They held types of self awareness, self esteem sessions. After they sent them to lunch they said my goodness, they're not going to show up again. And they came back for the afternoon session, and they came back for the next day.

You keep on attacking it at every point. In other words, you just keep on going after them. In a racial situation we sent through the National Council of Christians and Jews, through their funding, we sent groups of parents and their students and teachers on a weekend retreat. And this was a group that was interracial, and it worked out beautifully.

So you keep on hitting at a little piece, little pieces. It's not an overall plan. I know funding is necessary for many of these things. Believe me, if you look at my table of organizations, I have so much——

Chairman MILLER. You almost had a perfect testimony.

Mr. DE MARIA. I'm very, very heavy on guidance. But I'm telling you that a lot can be done just with a dedicated staff without funding. And just by removing those blinders again, and I'm warning you to remove the blinders. Things will explode.

Chairman MILLER. Dr. Spencer, you had one comment?

Dr. **Spencer**. Yes, one more comment. And that is I think Dr. Comer this morning really raised an important point that had to do with teacher training. That is, the whole issue of a lack of developmental perspective is important.

I guess I would broaden that to say relative to the experiences of minorities in this country, and blacks specifically, there is a need to take a developmental perspective. That is, given that we already know Congressman Flake's notions in terms of the media, there is a differential and incredible impact of the media on people in this country.

By the time children reach the age of 17 or 18, they've watched more hours of TV than they have been in school. Which means that, in terms of intervention, we need to have some impact on the media in terms of the imagery depicted; in terms of its undermining effects on the ability to tolerate differences.

We need to have more impact there. In terms of teacher training, Dr. Comer is correct that teachers know very little about development in terms of child development and adolescent development. Which means that they don't know how to maximize natural developmental outcomes for minority youth.

And so, therefore, we simply get behind and don't maximize what we can do. In terms of teacher training in particular, I think we need to realize that young children, in particular when they're very young, take in what we expose them to. If we can train teachers using the kind of training and community-school partnership that Mr. DeMaria is talking about, which suggests looking at people not in terms of differences, but in terms of similarities, and really focus on multicultural education, we raise kids—by the time they're adolescents—who need to deal only with the usual developmental issues and not those exacerbated by color and race. As I noted before in terms of our own society, the same responses (in terms of the impact of color and race) that were observed 50 years ago are still in place in terms of the images portrayed in the media.

There is currently no form of intervention. Somehow both the media and the schools have to get feedback from the Federal level that it's in their best interests to intervene early and it's simply not helpful to ignore the issue of racism.

Chairman **Miller**. Thank you very much for your testimony. In many ways this panel brings out what the previous one has said in that at least two of the incidents, on an institutional basis, you had to deal with the underlying facts in our society with respect to racial tensions that were outlined in the previous panel. And then there were two other incidents watching individual families, and individuals try to cope and deal with that.

I think this has been a very helpful morning certainly to this committee and certainly to me. It remains very distressing, and especially when there appears to be some agreement in the testimony, the destructive behavior within the minority community on that community. And the depression that many of you have spoken of here today, are a very real deep concern to members of this committee.

At the same time I think that Mr. Hurst and Mr. De Maria, you've expressed what this committee is about: that we can show the institutions in our society—in my case trying to show the Congress of the United States—that, with a real effort, the opportunities for success among our institutions and especially among the young in our society have far greater potential than we're willing to recognize in our day-to-day activities.

There is this massive potential out there among young people, who do not have to succumb to the worst in our society, who, in fact, can provide leadership and resources to bring out the very best in our society. That's what this committee has tried to demonstrate to the Congress.

So I really appreciate you taking your time and sharing with us your experiences and your knowledge on the subject. I suspect this will not be the last hearing on this subject. And I would especially like to thank the American Orthopsychiatric Association for their help in setting up this hearing.

Let me just say that, obviously there are a lot of people who have come in and out of the room who have substantial training in areas dealing with this. To the extent that people feel that they want to comment on what they heard here this morning, they should feel free to make those comments available to the committee. It's the Select Committee on Children, Youth and Families, Washington, D.C., or the Capitol.

They find us. It's a one way mail service in this country. They can always find us. We would certainly welcome additional data that would help us as we grapple with this issue.

So thank you very much, again, for your time. The committee will stand adjourned.

[Whereupon, the committee was adjourned at 12:06 p.m.]

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